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*Essays in Honour of
Margaret Crum
(second instalment)*

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Margaret as a young woman



Margaret with Conker

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Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal:

<@>	A digital copy of the item concerned was available at an open-access site at the time of publication. All databases were last accessed on 17 August 2023.
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , ed. D. Root < https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic >.
IMCCM	<i>The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music</i> , ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, i (Aldershot, 2001); ii (Aldershot, 2008) <@>.
MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte ud Gegenwart</i> , ed. L. Finscher < https://www.mgg-online.com/ >.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Goldman < https://www.oxforddnb.com/ >
RISM	<i>Repertoire internationale des sources musicales (RISM Catalog)</i> <@>.

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GB-Ob : reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

INTRODUCTION

PETER HOLMAN

In this second instalment of our tribute to Margaret Crum (1921-86), slightly belatedly marking the centenary of her birth, we begin with a memoir and tribute to her work in the Bodleian Library by Peter Ward Jones, head of the Music Section of the Bodleian Library from 1969 to 2009, who worked with Margaret and built on her scholarship, particularly in the study of the Bodleian's Mendelssohn holdings. We follow that with two important papers focussed on manuscripts in the Music School collection, the subject of much of Margaret's work in the form of the Revised Descriptions and in her ground-breaking introduction to the set of Harvester microfilms of the Collection, which outlines its history. They both use her work as a starting point.

Myles Hartley has recently completed a Ph.D. thesis on Latin motets in seventeenth-century England, and those by William Child in particular. Collaborating with his supervisor Jonathan Wainwright, he investigates the set of partbooks MSS Mus. Sch. C.32-37, a collection of sacred and secular music for varied combinations of voices and continuo by William Child, copied by Charles Husbands senior, a colleague of Child at St George's Chapel and the Chapel Royal. They use the collection to illuminate Child's central position in this fascinating mid-century English repertory, with connections to Italian music, to performing situations at the Oxford Music School and at Charles I's court, and to high Anglican and Royalist religion and politics.

John Cunningham builds on his recent work on English early eighteenth-century trio sonatas with a detailed study of James Sherard's Op. 2 sonatas, and the role that the manuscript versions in the partbooks MS Mus. Sch. D.252 played in his compositional process. The partbooks, initially copied by an unidentified associate of Sherard, have revisions and corrections inserted onto the pages of the parts or added in pastedowns. John suggests that they were used by the composer for informal performances in the household of the Duke of Bedford, helping him to refine the part-writing of his sonatas, which achieved their definitive form in the parts published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam in 1715-16.

James Sherard and his collection in the Bodleian Library was, of course, the subject of Margaret Crum's legendary lecture to the Oxford Bibliographical Society in 1982. Copies of the typescript, with corrections in her hand, have long been circulating unofficially among scholars of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English music, and it seems appropriate to reproduce it here with a new introduction by Stephen Rose, who is working on a major study of Sherard. He places her work in context and outlines subsequent Sherard research, correcting some incorrect conclusions where necessary but revealing how ground-breaking her work on this important subject was. She began the long task of identifying and assessing items from his music library, and of understanding his role in the transmission and reception of Italian and German music in early eighteenth-century England. We are grateful to Martin Holmes, Alfred Brendel Curator of Music at the Bodleian Library, for providing a copy of the typescript of Margaret's talk, to him and the Crum family for giving permission for us to reproduce it, and to John Cunningham for processing the images. We hope to continue the theme of James Sherard and his music library in future issues.

MARGARET CRUM'S WORK AT THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

PETER WARD JONES

Margaret Crum graduated from Somerville College in 1942 with a first-class degree in English, then five years later she embarked on a B.Litt. degree, which she received in 1950. With these qualifications she joined the staff of the Department of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library in 1953, specifically to work on the completion of the library's index of pre-1800 manuscript poetry. This project had been initiated in the 1930s by the English Faculty, using the voluntary labour of postgraduate students and others to compile a card index. But progress had been intermittent, and in 1950 funds were sought to employ someone to work on it full time, creating an opportunity for Margaret, who may latterly have been contributing to the indexing. It would be her main occupation until the index cards were completed in 1961, after which it would be a further eight years before it saw publication in two large volumes.¹ She had a workroom in the New (now Weston) Library, but, like all the department's graduate staff, she took her turn supervising in Duke Humfrey's Reading Room. She could be somewhat prickly with inconsiderate readers – explosions were not unknown! – but her ability and willingness to assist researchers was greatly valued. Her devotion to duty was notably demonstrated when, one winter's Saturday morning, it proved impossible to drive in from Islip, so she saddled up her horse and rode in, probably using a bridle path as far as the outskirts of Oxford, tethering up the animal in the corner of Radcliffe Square!

As the main work on the Index neared completion, Margaret, with her musical skills, began to take on the cataloguing of music manuscripts. At this stage in the library's history, responsibility for music was, like the British Museum Library, strictly divided between the Department of Printed Books and the Department of Western Manuscripts. Only gradually from the 1970s would music services be united, a process only completed on Margaret's retirement in 1981. Two substantial donations had been received towards the end of the 1950s, one of Hubert Parry's manuscripts (complementing the collection in the Royal College of Music) and the other of Gerald Finzi. These were among the first that Margaret had to catalogue, and she enjoyed a particular friendship with Finzi's widow Joy, who had presented his manuscripts to the library. Donations of further collections of twentieth-century composers' manuscripts were received in the 1960s, including those of Howard Ferguson, Alfred Hale and Robin Milford. Together with a trickle of individual manuscripts, they all fell to Margaret's lot.

This, however, still left an opportunity for her to embark on producing Revised Descriptions of the Music School manuscripts. Her work on the *First-Line Index* would have already brought her into contact with that collection, since its modest amount of English poetry in musical settings was included. Most enquiries about the library's music manuscripts at that time would have concerned the Music School Collection, so the inadequacies of the existing catalogues for modern-day researchers would have become obvious. The bulky catalogue in manuscript, compiled by

¹ *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, ed. M. Crum, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969). Information on the history of the project is from the Preface.

Robert Hake in the middle of the nineteenth century, usefully provided a detailed list of contents, remarkable for its time, but few other details. Otherwise, there were only the brief descriptions in the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, which at least had the benefit of being available in other libraries.² So, presumably with the blessing of the very musical Keeper of Western Manuscripts, Dr Richard Hunt, Margaret started to produce the detailed Revised Descriptions of the Collection. A preliminary stage involved investigation into its history, which in 1967 resulted in a journal article.³

Assembled over more than 150 years, most of the Music School Collection falls into distinct sub-groups, depending on their date and manner of acquisition. It was natural therefore for the work to be tackled in groups of associated material, and the collection of consort music from the middle years of the seventeenth century was the obvious candidate for the first stage of the project. It was almost certainly the part of the collection of greatest interest to researchers of the time, not least to Gordon Dodd, at work on the Viola da Gamba Society's *Thematic Index of Music for Viols*. Andrew Ashbee's article in the last issue shows how they worked together to their mutual benefit.⁴ Margaret was also fortunate in that Pamela Willetts, her counterpart at the British Museum Library, specialized in the same area of research; the two enjoyed close collaboration. The consort music in the Music School collection would give rise to her next article, published in 1972, exploring the relationship of John Jenkins with the North family at Kirtling.⁵

A major incentive to make progress on the collection in the mid-1970s was provided by the proposal of Harvester Microform to start their programme of microfilm publication of music manuscripts with a substantial selection of those of the Music School. It had a number of advantages for the library: a set of films for the use of readers would reduce wear and tear on the originals; the library's photographic services would have a set of masters from which to fulfil individual requests for copies; and the library would receive a modest royalty from Harvester's sales. The availability of the films in other major libraries also reduced the necessity for researchers to trouble the library for access to their material. Having agreed that the consort music manuscripts should be the focus of this part of the Harvester project, Margaret then felt the necessity to complete Revised Descriptions of them in time for publication of the films, scheduled for 1979. As Gordon Dodd remarked, Harvester were getting the 'Rolls-Royce treatment':⁶ not only did the first reel include an introduction, offering the best overview to date of the collection's history and an index of composers, but also a 141-page catalogue with all the Revised Descriptions.⁷ Margaret's work on the Music School manuscripts in the 1970s, however, went beyond the consort music, and included vocal music copied during the professorships of Edward Lowe and the two Goodsons, as well as French and Italian airs and Italian operas.

² *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. F. Madan *et al.*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895–1953).

³ M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48 (1967), 23–34.

⁴ A. Ashbee, 'Towards the *Thematic Index* 1: Correspondence between Margaret Crum and Gordon Dodd', *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 16a (2022), 1–9.

⁵ M. Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667', *Cheyls* 4 (1972), 3–10.

⁶ Ashbee, 'Towards the *Thematic Index* 1', 7, fn. 3.

⁷ The printed guide to the reels includes only the introduction and the index of composers.

However, Margaret was not able to devote too much of her time to the Music School manuscripts in the 1970s, for another pressing task demanded her attention. The Mendelssohn collection owned by Margaret Deneke (having been entrusted to her by a grandson of the composer) had been placed on deposit in the library for safekeeping in 1950, but was seen there by only one or two privileged scholars. This collection had been joined in 1960 by another substantial part of Mendelssohn's Nachlass, directly acquired by the library, with Miss Deneke's encouragement, from a granddaughter in Switzerland. It was decided not to proceed with cataloguing it until Miss Deneke's collection became, as foreseen, the library's property. This occurred in 1973 following the death of her sister Helena, to whom ownership had passed after Margaret's death in 1969. In anticipation of the acquisition, however, Margaret Crum had already produced a picture book on the composer in 1972, offering a selection of illustrations from both parts of the collection with an introduction and commentary.⁸

As the whole collection was one of the most important holdings of Mendelssohn source material in the world, especially on the biographical side, it became a matter of priority to catalogue it and make it available to the scholarly community. It was decided to begin with the substantial body of correspondence, including some 6,500 of the composer's incoming letters. To this end, Margaret took steps to improve her German, including mastering nineteenth-century Schrift – her experience in deciphering sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English handwriting was doubtless a help here – and in 1978 she spent some time in Austria working on the language. A most important friendship was established with Dr Rudolf Elvers, head of the Music Department of the West Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz and a leading Mendelssohn scholar. He naturally took great interest in the Oxford collection, and on his frequent visits he provided Margaret with much valuable assistance in resolving queries. She also drew on local expertise, especially that of the music antiquarian dealer Albi Rosenthal. The first volume of a catalogue was published in 1980 and covered all the correspondence; other manuscripts, including music, drawing books, diaries and miscellaneous material, followed in a second volume, published in 1982, shortly after her retirement; while a third volume, dealing with the printed music and books, was compiled by myself and published in 1989.⁹ The world of Mendelssohn scholarship had cause to be immensely grateful to Margaret's work, for it opened up a whole new era of research into material which had hitherto remained in private hands.

By the late 1970s Margaret had largely completed her work on the Mendelssohn collection, as well as seeing the first instalment of the Harvester films through to publication. There had been other current accessions to be processed, notably the music from Mapledurham, noted in the last issue,¹⁰ and the manuscripts of Percy Sherwood, while she still had responsibility for a comparatively small number of English literature manuscripts acquired. In addition, her expertise in the field saw her recruited to go and catalogue the English language autographs in the Bodmer Library at Cologny near Geneva.¹¹ But she was able to find time to continue work on the Music School collection, and around 1980 she made her remarkable discoveries about a substantial and diverse group of

⁸ M. Crum, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Bodleian Picture Books, Special Series 3 (Oxford, 1972).

⁹ *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. M. Crum and P. Ward Jones, 3 vols. (Tutzing, 1980–9).

¹⁰ C. Lesemann-Elliott, 'The Blount Music Collection Revisited', *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 16a (2022), 36–62.

¹¹ *English and American Autographs in the Bodmeriana: Catalogue*, comp. M. Crum (Cologny-Genève, 1977).

manuscripts and rare Italian printed music, which she was able to show were all collected by the apothecary, botanist and music-loving amateur James Sherard around the end of the seventeenth century. Margaret's own botanic enthusiasms must have made him a particularly interesting figure. The story can be read in the lecture reproduced in facsimile elsewhere in this issue, but one group of manuscripts held special fascination: a collection of German concerted sacred music, which she associated with St Thomas's, Leipzig and which appeared strange bedfellows among the rest of the Music School collection. This was to result in her only published article on any of the Sherard material, contributed after her retirement to a *Festschrift* for her friend Rudolf Elvers.¹² Subsequent research by Peter Wollny was to modify her findings, revealing that the collection had a more complex provenance, with only some pieces having Leipzig associations.¹³

Work on the Sherard collection was to be her last contribution to revising the Music School manuscripts, for she retired at the age of 60 in February 1981. But it was important for her to tell the Sherard story beyond what could be recorded in the Revised Descriptions, which led to her lecture to the Oxford Bibliographical Society in February 1982, now reproduced in this issue. Margaret was perhaps not a natural lecturer and, confronted with an over-long script for such an occasion, she delivered it at a rather hectic pace. A similar situation arose with a paper on the Deneke Mendelssohn Collection she gave to a Mendelssohn–Schumann conference at the University of North Carolina and Duke University that same year, not helped by her slides coming out of order. I imagine she would have envisaged the Sherard lecture eventually being transformed into a formal article, but health problems limited her final years. However, in addition to the short article on the German sacred music, she was able to produce a contribution on Mendelssohn's drawings to a *Festschrift* for Albi Rosenthal.¹⁴

Although Margaret had managed to deal with an impressively large proportion of the Music School manuscripts, the task was incomplete at the time of her retirement. The main categories awaiting revision were those of the Oxford act music and the court odes of William Boyce. The presence of a single revised description of the latter, for a birthday ode for Frederick, Prince of Wales, perhaps suggests that the odes were next on her agenda. Otherwise, English, French and Italian songs and solo instrumental music constituted the majority of what remained to be covered. Whether she envisaged the eventual publication of a catalogue of the collection is unknown, but she had hoped to be able to continue work on them in retirement, though the library was undergoing financial retrenchment at that time and funding was seen as a problem. Margaret's own post was not refilled, and responsibility for music manuscripts formally passed to what was now a unified printed and manuscript Music Section. Dealing with a steady influx of new manuscripts over the succeeding decades proved as much as the department could handle, so the completion of revising the Music School manuscripts has remained a desideratum.

The typescript copies of the Revised Descriptions naturally underwent annotation with corrections and amplifications, both by Margaret herself and subsequently by others. In addition to the copy

¹² 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Hertrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101.

¹³ P. Wollny, 'A Collection of Seventeenth-Century Vocal Music at the Bodleian Library', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 15 (1993), 77–108.

¹⁴ M. Crum, 'Mendelssohn's Drawing and the Doubled Life of Memory', *Festschrift Albi Rosenthal*, ed. R. Elvers (Tutzing, 1984), 87–103.

in the Sir Charles Mackerras Reading Room,¹⁵ they have now been incorporated into the online catalogue of the Department of Western Manuscripts, where those manuscripts still to be revised are entered with their *Summary Catalogue* descriptions. Certain of these have received detailed study by other scholars, notably by John Milsom in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the Forrest-Heather Partbooks,¹⁶ and in James Wrightson's study of the Wanley Partbooks,¹⁷ while Jonathan Wainwright's work on musical patronage in the seventeenth century led him to create further detailed descriptions of some of the manuscripts worked on by Crum.¹⁸ Many Music School consort manuscripts were subsequently catalogued in detail by Wainwright with Andrew Ashbee and Robert Thompson.¹⁹

Margaret was fortunate in that she worked at a time when the library largely left its staff to get on with their jobs at their own pace, unhindered by frequent meetings and committees, let alone annual reviews of performance. This was, of course, the pre-computer era, and Margaret did all her work in longhand, the results being typed up in the secretarial pool – she herself never learnt to type. Her productivity was tremendous, never more so than in the decade before her retirement. Her aim was to produce 'precise, lucid and brief cataloguing',²⁰ and though the Music School Revised Descriptions were generous in the amount of information provided, she remained true to the idea that a library catalogue is basically a finding aid, not the last word on a manuscript. Although she may have felt some disappointment in not being able to complete work on the Music School collection, her contributions to the advancement of scholarship in both English literature and music has ensured that she indeed has a lasting legacy.²¹

¹⁵ MUS. AC.4.

¹⁶ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Mus. Sch. e. 376-381, Renaissance Music in Facsimile 15*, introduction by J. Milsom (New York and London, 1986).

¹⁷ J. Wrightson, *The 'Wanley' Manuscripts: A Critical Commentary* (New York and London, 1989).

¹⁸ J.P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot, 1997).

¹⁹ *The Vola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, comp. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2001, 2008).

²⁰ *English and American Autographs in the Bodmeriana*, comp. Crum, 14, fn. 10.

²¹ Thanks are due to Margaret's former colleagues, Robert Bruce, Colin Harris and William Hodges, for their memories and assistance.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MSS MUSIC SCHOOL C.32–37: MUSICAL NETWORKS, MOTET TEXTS AND ROYALIST RESONANCES

MYLES HARTLEY and JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT

One of Margaret Crum's many contributions to musical scholarship was her work on the Music School collection in the Bodleian Library. Her 1967 article concerning the early catalogues of the Music School described its formation;¹ other writings looked in more detail at specific groups of Music School manuscripts;² and her typescript collection of Revised Descriptions has been the first port of call for generations of musicologists working on Oxford music manuscripts.³ In the seventeenth century the Music School collection was one of the finest working music libraries in England, and this essay examines the partbooks of vocal music by William Child (1606/7–97), GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37, providing an overview of its key works and texts, its scribes and facilitators, and its musical contexts. Distinctive features of Child's Latin texts and Biblical sources will be introduced, and a case-study provided to highlight significant aspects of seventeenth-century topicality and Royalist resonances in Child's *concertato* works.

The Music School collection began in 1626 when William Heather (c.1563–1627) endowed the Music Lecture and presented the first tranche of music books, together with instruments and furniture, in order to enable the Professor (or 'Master of the Musicke', the first being Richard Nicholson (1563–1638/9), organist of Magdalen College) to 'bring with him two boys weekly, at the day and time aforesaid [on Thursday afternoons, Lent excepted], and there to receive such company as will practice Musick'.⁴ The original bequest consisted of 42 printed books of music, bound in six sets of vocal partbooks, together with a single manuscript set, the famous 'Forrest-Heather' partbooks of Tudor festal masses, MSS Mus. Sch. E.376–81.⁵ The Forrest-Heather partbooks can be seen as 'antiquarian' in the context of the rest of Heather's bequests,⁶ which were otherwise stylistically up-to-date (the printed sources, from the Netherlands, Italy and England,

¹ M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48 (1967), 23–34.

² For example, M. Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667', *Chelys* 4 (1972), 3–10; 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Herttrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101.

³ 'Catalogue of the Oxford Music School Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford', typescript at GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4.

⁴ A. Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1796), ii/1, 358 <@>. Wood quotes from Oxford University Archives Register of Convocation 1615–28, register N, ff. 233–4. See too, H.W. Shaw, rev. and ed. P. Ward Jones, 'The Oxford University Chair of Music, 1627–1947, with some Account of Oxford Degrees in Music from 1856', *Bodleian Library Record* 16/3 (1998), 233–70.

⁵ Two lists of Heather's benefaction survive: University Archives S.E.P.C. 9 and MS Mus. Sch. C.203*[R]; the latter is transcribed in Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School'.

⁶ The Forrest-Heather partbooks are described in the two early catalogues as 'A sett of olde songs composed by severall Authors viz: Doctor Merbeck, Doctor Fayrfax, M^r John Tavener, M^r Hugh Aston and others, bownd in black lether covers.' Perhaps Heather, a singer at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, valued the quality of the old-fashioned Catholic music and perhaps even recognized the Oxford provenance of a number of the masses.

date from 1575 to 1624) and were designed for use in the Music School by members of the University.

Little evidence survives of additions to the collection before the next catalogue of the Music School books in 1682, but it seems likely that successive Professors of Music (Arthur Phillips, Heather Professor 1639–53, and John Wilson, Heather Professor 1656–61) added music. However, by the Restoration the Music School collection must have seemed very dated, and it fell to Edward Lowe (c.1610–82, Heather Professor 1661–82) to revitalise the music in the weekly performances. This Lowe did through a process of accumulation: purchase, donation and music copying, as well as one major acquisition: the 1667 procurement, via Anthony Wood, of relatively up-to-date music from Dudley, third Baron North, of Kirtling in Cambridgeshire.⁷ As a result of Lowe's diligent activities, the Music School collection grew rapidly; this is revealed in 'A Catalogue of All the Books w^{ch} belong now to y^e Musick Schoole 1682', made by Lowe's successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson the elder (c.1655–1718).⁸ Furthermore, many of the printed and manuscript sources in the Music School collection contain invaluable annotations in Lowe's hand that reveal information about provenance and practical details relating to performance. New music was added to the old and, as relatively few sources appear to have been lost over the years, the collection gained historical depth as the older music in the collection was preserved, giving the collection an antiquarian character, perhaps more by accident than intention.

This essay is concerned with the works, contexts and texts of GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37, manuscript partbooks dedicated to music by William Child, sacred and secular with Latin and English texts. Child was elected to the next lay clerkship vacant at St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle on 19 April 1630. He became organist in 1634 and worked there for the rest of his long career, apart from the years when the choral foundation was disbanded during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (1643–60).⁹ Child was also an organist of the Chapel Royal following the Restoration, alongside Christopher Gibbons and Lowe, the latter of whom was also organist of Christ Church Cathedral and the University Church of St. Mary in addition to his duties as Heather Professor. Child was also given a court post as a cornett player after the Restoration and was private organist to the Earl of Sandwich, Edward Montagu, patron of the diarist Samuel Pepys.

Alongside his performance duties, Child was a prolific composer, writing at least 18 liturgical settings and 60 anthems (42 of which are verse anthems) with English texts, as well as two full-choir service texts in Latin: a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for Peterhouse, Cambridge, which featured *stile antico* idioms creatively combined with declamatory writing and alternation between the Decani and Cantoris sides of the choir.¹⁰ The repertory of GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 adds a significantly more Italianate and *stile nuovo* character and dimension to Child's compositional

⁷ See Crum, 'Consort Music from Kirtling'; P. J. Willetts, 'Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford', *British Museum Quarterly* 24 (1961), 71–5.

⁸ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204*[R].

⁹ *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, comp. A. Ashbee, and D. Lasocki, assisted by P. Holman and F. Kisby, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2000), i. 244–9.

¹⁰ F. Hudson and W.R. Large, 'William Child (1606/7–97), a New Investigation of the Sources', *The Music Review* 31 (1970), 265–84.

oeuvre; these ‘chamber’ works, domestic-devotional, Latin- and English-texted, sacred and secular, would not have been used in the Anglican liturgy, either at St. George’s or in the Chapel Royal.¹¹

Edward Lowe bequeathed the partbooks to the Music School in 1682. They head the non-alphabetical list of his gifted items, comprising manuscripts and printed editions: ‘Lattin Songs for 3, 4, and 5 Voices by Dr. Child in folio cover’d with black Leather’.¹² Whilst the partbooks are described in the inventory in relation to the 13 Latin-texted sacred works, ten of which survive solely in this source, they also contain 13 English-texted items. These comprise four sacred ‘Alleluia Hymns’; six psalms (two incomplete) from Child’s set of 20 ‘Newly composed after the Italian Way’, printed in 1639 and dedicated to Charles I and the Knights of the Order of the Garter; and a secular Epithalamium.¹³ These are all for three voices with continuo and use *concertato* idioms. The Latin motets display these idioms to a greater degree and on a larger scale, with significant points of compositional and stylistic comparison with motets by Richard Dering (c.1580–1630), for example, as well as those of the Italian composers Alessandro Grandi (1590–1630) and Giovanni Felice Sances (c.1600–79). Child’s works feature contrasts between short imitative phrases and homophonic declamation, and between duple- and triple-time writing. There is much variety of choral texture and rhythmic figuration, a predominance of syllabic text setting with occasional word painting and the use of ‘colourful’ dissonances, such as a minor sixth and a major third above the bass. The basso continuo provides a stable harmonic foundation, above which dissonance is carefully prepared within the metrical scheme.¹⁴

Frequent use is made of ‘tonic-dominant’ harmonic relationships for both immediate progressions and larger structural units, with the use of third-related progressions to provide contrast and colour, and often to heighten the effect of chordal declamation, both within musical sections united by the text, and across separate sections featuring different texts. Child’s chords and harmonic patterning move as far as F-sharp major and D-flat major in their respective harmonic directions: the former in ‘O bone Jesu’, (b. 9, in a dominant relationship to B major and minor, setting ‘Jesu’ in chordal homophony), and the latter in ‘Converte nos’ (b. 85, within a passage of swift modulatory movement for repetitions of ‘et ne des hereditatem tuam [in opprobrium]’ (‘do not give your heritage [into disgrace]’) in two-part declamatory homophony.¹⁵ Ex. 1, an extract

¹¹ This discussion of MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 is drawn from M. Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation: A Contextual Study of Latin Motets in Seventeenth Century England, with Focus on Works by William Child’, Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (University of York, 2022) <@>. Vol. 2 includes a complete critical edition of the partbooks alongside motets by other composers connected with Child, including Edward Lowe and Christopher Gibbons.

¹² Crum, ‘Early Lists’, 31.

¹³ For a critical edition of the three-part psalms, see: W. Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces (1639)*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, York Early Music Press (York, 2015) <@>.

¹⁴ See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 36–42, 46–73, for a discussion of aspects of style in Child’s motets, including *imitatio* and the use of compositional material by the Italian composers Alessandro Grandi and the Neapolitan composer Giovanni Maria Sabino (1588–1649). For a discussion of *concertato* idioms in motets by Dering, see J.P. Wainwright, ‘Richard Dering’s Few-Voice “Concertato” Motets’, *Music & Letters* 89 (2008), 165–94.

¹⁵ The use of anachronistic ‘tonal’ terminology is used for clarity to describe this repertory from a time traditionally characterised as ‘transitional’ between ‘Renaissance modes’ and ‘Classical tonality’. Tim Carter has summarised these complex themes and issues, ‘yet to be fully resolved’, with great clarity, and highlighted the challenges of defining ‘pure’ modality, ‘pure’ tonality and any potential transition, ‘if such there be’, in music of this period; see T. Carter, ‘The Search for Musical Meaning’, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge, 2005), 169–79, esp. 170, 172. ‘Hybrid’ modal-tonal analyses have been undertaken by scholars including Eric Chafe,

from ‘Servus tuus’ (CCB, bc), shows Child’s accomplished use of both fifth- and third-related harmonic progressions to underpin emphatic and clearly declaimed homophony, presenting text translatable as ‘it is time for you to act, O Lord, for they have broken your law’. Rhythmic syncopation adds a sense of ‘breaking’ and unease; the possible mid-century and Commonwealth contextual resonances of this will be addressed below, with a discussion of Child’s setting of ‘O si vel’ (Luke 19: 42), Jesus’s Passiontide words of lament on his arrival at Jerusalem.¹⁶

Ex. 1: W. Child, ‘Servus tuus’, bb. 39-46

Perhaps surprisingly, Child’s four-voice, continuo-accompanied setting of Miles Coverdale’s translation of Psalm 120, ‘Woe is me’ (c.1637), is incorporated within the motet section of the partbooks. However, this work does not survive in English-texted liturgical sources for Child’s works, and its sole concordance, in Bishop Smith’s partsong books (a collection of Oxford provenance, c.1637) together with works including domestic-devotional continuo psalms and Grandi’s ‘O bone Jesu’,¹⁷ suggests a comparable non-liturgical and household function for the piece. The final item in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 is a secular dialogue which narrates pastoral courtship, *stile rappresentativo*, concluding with a triple-time chorus. Child here demonstrates the heritage of Florentine monody alongside comparable dialogues by Alphonso Ferrabosco II and the Lawes brothers. The works in the partbooks are organised by genre and vocal scoring, and the secular epithalamium and dialogue, which bookend the collection, can be said to highlight and affirm the broadly domestic function of the partbooks. Table 1 sets out its contents.

for example in his study of vocal works by Monteverdi ‘within the context of emerging tonality’, following work undertaken by Carl Dahlhaus; see E. Chafe, *Monteverdi’s Tonal Language* (New York, 1992), xv.

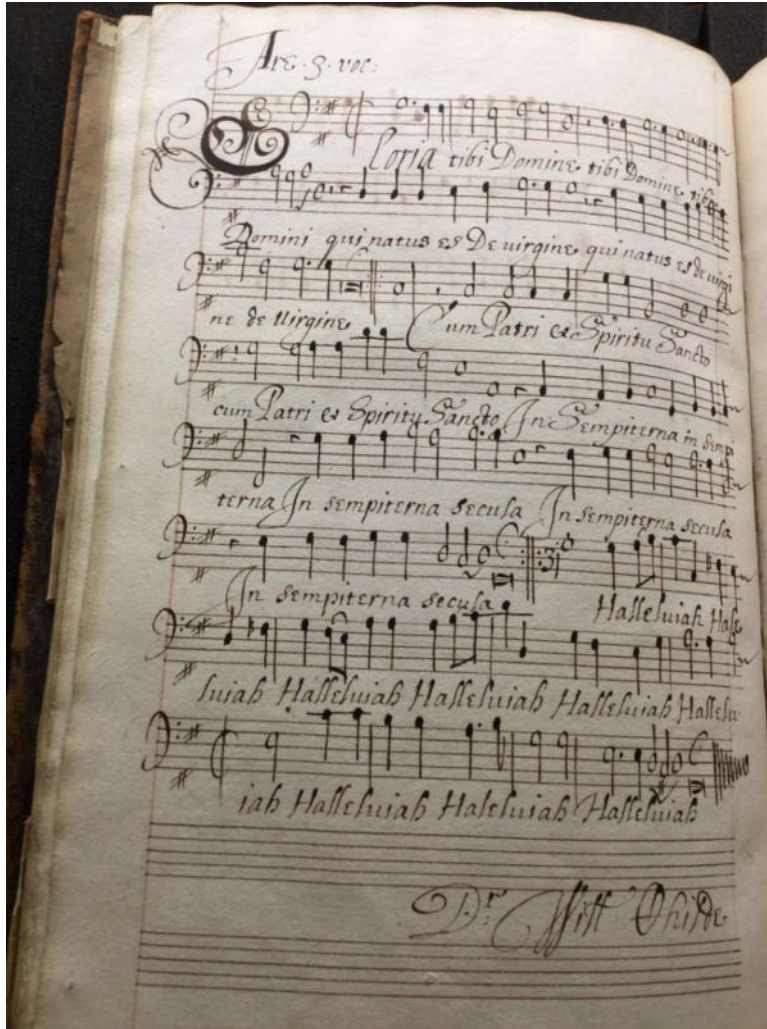
¹⁶ Ex. 1 also demonstrates the early use of ‘sequence’, of which can also be seen in the *concertato* work of Dering, for example, including his motet, ‘Sancta et immaculate virginitas’, bb. 20–26. See *Richard Dering Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, *Musica Britannica* 86 (London, 2008), 19.

¹⁷ Carlisle, Archive Centre, DCHA 2/4/1 (olim CRO(C) D&C Music 1); see J.P. Cutts, *Roger Smith, his Book: Bishop Smith’s Part-Song Books in Carlisle Cathedral Library* (Stuttgart, 1972).

Table 1: GB-Ob. MSS Mus, Sch. C.32-37

Title	Scoring	C.32 f.	C.33 f.	C.34 f.	C.35 f.	C.36 f.	C.37 f.
Come Hymen	ATB, bc	2		3	2		5
An Epithalamium							
An Hymn. Alleluia, therefore with angels	ATB, bc	3 ^v		4	3 ^v		5 ^v
A Hymn for Christmas Day. Alleluia, awake my soul	ATB, bc	4 ^v		5 ^v	5		6
A Hymn for Pentecost or Whitsunday. Alleluia, O Holy Ghost	ATB, bc	6		7	6		6 ^v
A Hymn for Trinity Sunday. Alleluia, Thou who when all was into rudeness	ATB, bc	8		9 ^v	8		7 ^v
Blessed is the man	CCB, bc	10		12	10		
Why doth the heathen	CCB, bc	10		12 ^v	10 ^v		
Lord how are they increased	CCB, bc	11		13 ^v	11 ^v		
Hear me when I call	CCB, bc	11 ^v		14 ^v	12 ^v		
Ponder my words, ye people	C[C]B, bc	12		15			
O Lord, rebuke me not	C[CB], bc			16			
Cantate Jehovahae	CCB, bc	23		25 ^v	23 ^v		12 ^v
vocal bass part, chorus					44		
treble instrument 2, chorus					45		
bass instrument, chorus					46		
treble instrument 1					47–47 ^v		
Servus tuus	CCB, bc	24 ^v			24 ^v		12
Gloria Tibi	CCB, bc	25 ^v		27 ^v	25 ^v		12 ^v
Gloria Patri	ATB, bc	26		28	26		22
Laudate Deum	ATB, bc	27		29	27	2	22 ^v
O si vel	CATB, bc	29		31	29	4	23 ^v
O bone Jesu	CATB, bc	30 ^v		32 ^v	30 ^v	5 ^v	24
Quam pulchra es	ATB, bc	31 ^v		33 ^v	31 ^v	6 ^v	24 ^v
Ecce panis angelorum	ATB, bc	33 ^v		35 ^v	33 ^v	8 ^v	25
Quem vidistis	CATBbc	35		37	35	10	25 ^v
Woe is me that I am constrained	AATBbc	36 ^v		39	37	11 ^v	26
Plange Sion	CATB, bc	39	2	42	39	14	27
Converte nos	CATB, bc	40 ^v	4	44	40 ^v	15 ^v	27 ^v
Venite gentes	CCATBbc	42 ^v	6	46	42 ^v	17 ^v	28
Why so cruel, Daphne, why? Dialogue between Damon and Daphne	CB, bc	13 ^v –8 ^v REV				30 REV	

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 present not just a significant display of Child’s distinctive and accomplished Italianate compositional idioms, but are also a key source of the ornate calligraphic work of Charles Husbands Senior (d. 1678), the scribe of all items in the books except for the instrumental parts of ‘Cantate Jehovae’ incorporated into MS Mus. Sch. C.35, which are in the hand of Edward Lowe.¹⁸ Husbands was a colleague of Child after the Restoration as a tenor clerk at Windsor and the Chapel Royal; his ornate scribal work encompassed a notable range of royal and courtly vocal works, including liturgical music and domestic repertoires, the latter both sacred and secular.¹⁹ Many of the items in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 feature decorated initial-capital letters; see Illus. 1.



Illus. 1: f. 25v of MS Mus. Sch. C.32, in the hand of Charles Husbands.

¹⁸ See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 74–84 for a discussion of Husbands’s life and work, with examples of his scribal hand; there is a transcription of ‘Cantate Jehovae’ in ii. 358–64.

¹⁹ Though described as a ‘tenor’ in Windsor records and a ‘counter-tenor’ in a Chapel Royal source, these labels are compatible if Husbands was a high-range tenor, akin to the seventeenth-century French *haute-contre*. See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 77; A. Parrott, *Composers’ Intentions? Lost Traditions of Musical Performance* (Woodbridge, 2015), 93.

Husbands's copies of liturgical works associated with St. George's Chapel in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17,784 feature such techniques; an example of his artistry is an image of Charles II on f. 28v with the king wearing St. Edward's crown; this had been remade in solid gold in 1661 following the destruction of the original during the Civil War.

The international scope of Husbands's scribal work can be seen in his complete copies of printed collections dedicated to European monarchs, with notable examples including *airs de cour* by Étienne Moulinié (1599–1676) dedicated to Louis XIII of France, brother of Queen Henrietta Maria (GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1, the sole-surviving partbook copied from *Airs de cour a quatre & cinq parties* (Paris, 1625)); and Latin motets by Sances dedicated to Ferdinand III, the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.10, five partbooks copied from *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci* (Venice, 1638)). The latter belonged to Lowe, who gave the set to the Music School in 1682 with the Child partbooks.²⁰ Just as MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 includes instrumental parts to 'Cantate Jehovae' in Lowe's hand, so Husbands's hand features alongside that of Lowe in other post-Restoration motet partbooks in Oxford, including GB-Och, Mus. 49 and GB-Och, Mus. 1178, both of which include works from Sances's 1638 publication.

Husbands attributed the contents of MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 to 'Dr.' Child, so he must have copied the partbooks between 1663, when the composer received an Oxford doctorate, and 1678, the year of Husbands's death. Husbands's partbooks of Latin music by Child and Sances clearly had a primary function in the context of Oxford's post-Restoration Music School and the University's Heather Professor Edward Lowe. The Child partbooks contain a variety of genres and texts, though their copying together in a single-composer collection suggests a degree of functional unity. Perhaps Child gave them to Lowe and the Music School, just as the court musician John Hingeston (1612–83) donated to the Music School a set of partbooks of his own consort music with warm words praising Lowe's work at the University.²¹ Goodson Senior listed them in the Music School's 1682 inventory,²² and they are now GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.205–211. They feature 56 suites in four to six parts.

GB-Ob MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 do not provide evidence of their original performance context, and autographs of the works do not appear to have survived, so it is not straightforward to suggest definitive dating or chronology for them. However, 'Cantate Jehovae' may be the first to have been composed in view of its presence in US-NYp, MS Drexel 4300, an Oxford Music School source featuring sacred and secular vocal works by composers including Dering and Weelkes. These partbooks, in five scribal hands, bear a 1633 attribution of ownership by James Clifford (1622–98), at the time a chorister of Magdalen College and protégé of the first Heather Professor,

²⁰ Crum, 'Early Lists', 31.

²¹ Hingeston wrote, for example, in the inside cover of MS Mus. Sch. D.205: 'Thes Bookes & works of mine I freely give to y^e musique Schoole at Oxon, to w^{ch} I was ye more incouraged from what I have heard & seen of y^e care, diligence and industry of y^e present Proffessor of that faculty in y^e University, my Honored frind and fellow servant M^r Edward Lowe'. The books were copied by a scribe working under Hingeston's supervision; see Crum, 'Catalogue of the Oxford Music School Collection', GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4, 115–19.

²² Crum, 'Early Lists', 29.

Richard Nicholson, also *Informator choristarum* at Magdalen.²³ However, the origin and function of some of the motets in MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 can be discerned through their texts, the Latin of which will be seen to demonstrate Court connections as well as the vicissitudes of the monarchy in seventeenth-century England. In addition to MS Drexel 4300, the six other seventeenth-century concordances for Child motets suggest sustained connections with the Oxford Music School and domestic music-making at Court, particularly in the reigns of Charles I and Charles II. Table 2 lists seventeenth-century manuscript concordances for three motets by Child: ‘Cantate Jehovae’, ‘O bone Jesu’ and ‘Plange Sion’.²⁴

Table 2: Concordances for Three Motets by Child

GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1: ‘Plange Sion’ (ff. 4–5) and ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 5v–6)

The sole-surviving partbook (canto / *dessus*) from an original set of, likely, six, in the hand of Husbands Senior (copied late 1650s–c.1679). The repertory includes *airs de cour* by Moulinié dedicated to Henrietta Maria’s brother, Louis XIII of France, and vocal works by composers in English court employment, including members of the Lutes, Viols and Voices, Thomas Lupo and Robert Johnson, with an elegy by William Smeggergill (*fl.* 1615–67) for Dering, Queen Henrietta Maria’s organist.

GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33,235: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 100v–101v / pp. 197–9)

A scorebook of sacred and secular vocal music in English, Italian and Latin, in the hand of Lowe’s successor as Heather Professor, Richard Goodson Senior (copied c.1690s).

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 31–5)

18 sets of parts used in the Oxford Music School. They include motets by Antonelli, Henry Bowman, Carissimi, Cazzati and the Heather Professors Lowe and Wilson. The scribes include Bowman, Husbands Senior and Lowe. The parts of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ are in an unknown hand.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.451: ‘O bone Jesu’ (p. 103)

Lowe’s personal continuo book, copied between the mid-1630s and Lowe’s death in 1682, include accompaniments for *concertato* English-texted psalms by the Lawes brothers; consort music by Baltzar, the Lawes brothers and Locke; and motets by Casati, Child, Dering, Christopher Gibbons, Jeffreys and Sances.

GB-Och, Mus. 14: ‘O bone Jesu’ (ff. 29–35v)

John Blow’s personal scorebook of sacred and secular vocal music in English, Italian and Latin, including works by Blow, Christopher Gibbons, Carissimi and Rovetta. It is possible that Blow, as a treble, sang the canto part of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ in a domestic context while a chorister in the

²³ Clifford was appointed a Minor Canon at St. Paul’s Cathedral, London in 1661, and published the extensive collection of anthem texts *Divine Services and Anthems, usually Sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England* (London, 1662; 2/1664).

²⁴ For further details of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33,235, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.204, MS Mus. Sch. E.451, and GB-Och, Mus. 14, see J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)*, (Aldershot, 1997), 264–67, 321–6, 326–36, 366–8. For details of GB-Ge, R.d.3/1, see Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 97–110.

Restoration Chapel Royal. In his diary entry for 21 December 1663 Samuel Pepys recorded that Henry Cooke, Master of the Chapel Royal choristers, renowned singer ‘after the Italian manner’ and a member of the flexible court ensemble, the Lutes, Viols and Voices, brought choristers to the house of his patron Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, for whom Child also worked as a private organist and music tutor. Notably, Pepys records that Child was present that evening, and had sung through an ‘Anthemne’ by Montagu, together with Cooke, Chapel Royal choristers, and musical colleagues, ‘Mr. Madge, and Mallard’, the former very likely Humphrey Madge, a member of the Lutes, Viols and Voices alongside Cooke.²⁵ Following the anthem, ‘Capt. Cooke and his two boys [unnamed] did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say I think was fully the best Musique that I ever yet heard in all my life’.²⁶ Such words affirm John Evelyn’s 1654 description of Cooke as ‘esteem’d the best singer after the *Italian* manner of any in England’.²⁷

US-NYp, MS Drexel 4300: ‘Cantate Jehovahae’ (book i, ff. 36v–38; book ii, pp. 88–89; book iii, ff. 44–44v)

Three partbooks surviving from an original set of four with an Oxford Music School provenance. They were copied by five scribal hands and include motets by Dering, Child and Jeffreys, alongside madrigals, including Weelkes’s *Ayres or Phantasticke Spirites for Three Voyces* (London, 1608).

While the surviving sources for Child’s motets demonstrate a likely non-liturgical, ‘domestic-devotional’ function in Oxford, a court-Oxford repertorial axis is clearly discernible through the sources in Husbands’s hand. GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 has the closest association with Lowe and the Music School, while GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1 is apparently connected with musicians employed by Henrietta Maria and Charles I, and to chamber music associated with the Queen’s brother, Louis XIII. Indeed, GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1 is the sole-surviving copy of these Moulinié works in England (no copy-text appears to have survived), and this ‘rare’ courtly repertory appears to align, in potential provenance and function, with the Music School manuscript of *airs de cour*, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.218 (c.1640s), an ornate, silk-embossed, manuscript with a rare portrait of the crowned Henrietta Maria in a musical manuscript (f. 2, opposite a sonnet eulogising the

²⁵ *A Biographical Dictionary*, comp. Ashbee, Lasocki, Holman and Kisby, ii. 1193–4, provides a list of musicians of the ‘Lutes, viols and voices’ of Charles I and Charles II, including Cooke and Madge.

²⁶ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 9 vols., ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London, 2000), iv. 428. Though a Latin-texted work is not explicitly mentioned here, Pepys described the performance of sacred and Italian music in an aristocratic domestic setting by a network of professional musicians associated with the Chapel Royal alongside the court Lutes, Viols and Voices. It suggests that Cooke taught his choristers, such as Blow and Purcell, Italianate musical idioms, which would have included *trilli*, and even such ornamentation as the ‘pre-trillo’ ornament indicated in the margin of the canto part for Husbands’s copy of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’ (MS Mus. Sch. C.36, f. 5v). See Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 55–9, for a discussion of Italianate ornamentation in Child’s motets (including an image of MS Mus. Sch. C.36, f. 5v on p. 58), and ii. 397–402 for a transcription of Child’s ‘O bone Jesu’, which includes Italianate ornamentation.

²⁷ See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 25, which also provides details of Cooke’s association with the Hatton family and George Jeffreys, a prolific scribe and composer of Italianate vocal works during the Commonwealth. Cooke likely visited the Hatton household regularly during the 1650s and taught the Hatton children. Wainwright highlights John Evelyn’s description of Cooke, quoted above, from the diarist’s ‘Kalendarium’ entry for 28 October 1654; see *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), iii. 144.

queen in French, the queen's first language) of undoubted royal-domestic function.²⁸ In terms of the *concertato*-motet genre in seventeenth-century England, it is notable that its key facilitators, composers and scribes had close professional connections to both institutions, the monarchy and the university, whether directly or indirectly, from at least the 1630s onwards. Child, Lowe and Christopher Gibbons, the three organists of the Chapel Royal, together with Husbands Senior, represented such networks during the reign of Charles II (r. 1660–85).

Concerning functional insights potentially discernible for Child's motets from the texts themselves, elements of Roman Catholic devotion are suggested by the texts of 'Gloria tibi' (Marian hymn), 'Ecce Panis' (Corpus Christi hymn) and 'Quem vidistis' (Christmas responsory). In 'Venite gentes' Child appears to set a unique composite of Psalm 33: 12 and two Wisdom texts which were not part of the 'Protestant' Biblical canon (Sirach 24: 5, and Wisdom 9: 10c). 'O bone Jesu', with a text by the Franciscan St. Bernardino of Sienna, sets words of high-Christological devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, and may have had a particular domestic-devotional connection to Henrietta Maria (potentially evident through its presence in GB-Ge, MS R.d.3/1, alongside the lament-like 'Plange Sion').²⁹ However, three motets, 'Cantate Jehovahae', 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum', set texts of 'Calvinist' Latin (to be addressed below), which would have prevented their use in the Roman Catholic liturgy, for instance in the Catholic chapels of respective Stuart queens, Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza. Table 3 provides an overview of Child's 13 motet texts, surviving together in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37.

Table 3: Child's Motet Texts
The five works with italicised titles appear to be set uniquely by Child.

Motet	Text
Cantate Jehovahae	Psalm 98: 1, 4–9: 'Royal' psalm of praise (Tremellius-Junius translation, uniquely adapted by Child to incorporate references to festive musical instruments).
Servus tuus	Psalm 118: 125–6 (Vulgate).
Gloria tibi	Marian hymn (Annunciation): final verse of a five-verse devotional hymn to Mary, 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera', in long metre (88 88), by St. Venantius Fortunatus (530–609), Italian bishop of the early church and renowned Latin poet and hymnographer. 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera' is associated with the Feast of the Annunciation (Luke 1: 26–38). ³⁰

²⁸ Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 105–10. GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.218 does not feature works by Moulinié, though it includes airs by François La Roche (*d.* 1676), a colleague of Moulinié and fellow musician employed by Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII of France and Henrietta Maria.

²⁹ Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 158–90. The 'O bone Jesu' settings by Child and Christopher Gibbons demonstrate aspects of *emulatio* in relation to Grandi's four-part setting of the same text, printed in Venice in 1613 with copies in nine seventeenth-century English music manuscripts from c.1625 onwards. Grandi's setting also featured as a 'coda' to *Cantica Sacra*, i (London, 1662), Playford's collection of 24 Latin motets by Dering, Henrietta Maria's organist between 1625 and 1630; the collection was dedicated by Playford to Henrietta Maria.

³⁰ Fortunatus's hymn has a long presence in books of hours and breviaries, including Sarum-use texts associated with the Annunciation, for example, the 'Hours of the Virgin' (Matins), in a fourteenth-century English manuscript now in Copenhagen, DK-Kk, Thott 547 4º, f. 2 <@>. William Byrd set the complete hymn, 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera' (ATB), with a final-verse text identical to that set by Child; see W. Byrd, *Gradualia I (1605): Other Feasts and Devotions*, ed. P. Brett, The Byrd Edition 6b (London, 1993), 83–8.

Gloria Patri	Trinitarian doxology.
<i>Laudate Deum</i>	Revelation 19: 5–7 (Theodore Beza’s translation): wedding feast in the heavenly New Jerusalem.
<i>O si vel</i>	Luke 19: 42 (Beza’s translation): Jesus’s lament for Jerusalem at the start of Luke’s Passiontide narrative.
O bone Jesu	Devotional text of high Christology associated with the Franciscan St. Bernardino of Sienna (1380–1444), in devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, popularised by the saint through preaching and travelling. The text, also set by Dering (<i>a5</i> and <i>a2</i> , the latter with an additional bass part in GB-Lcm, MS 2039) and Christopher Gibbons, presents Marian spirituality and devotion. The Child and Gibbons settings appear to be related, both compositionally and functionally, to Grandi’s <i>a4</i> setting of the same text. ³¹ ‘O bone Jesu’ settings are prevalent in seventeenth-century Oxford sources (Lowe indexes those of Child, Gibbons and Grandi together in GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. E.451).
Quam pulchra es	Solomon 4: 1, 9 (Vulgate): Biblical poem on the theme of divine love.
Ecce panis	Words written c.1264 by St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) in metre 88 87. ‘Ecce Panis’, with five verses, a concluding ‘Amen’ and ‘Alleluia’, is the final portion (verses 21–4) of the 24-stanza hymn sequence ‘Lauda Sion’, used in the Roman Missal for the Feast of Corpus Christi. Child sets five stanzas, in order, 21, 1, 14–16, 1 (repeated), with a concluding ‘Alleluia’ section. Aquinas himself proposed this annual feast, and his words are a hymn of devotion to the Real Presence of Jesus celebrated at Mass. ³²
Quem vidistis	Responsory for Matins on Christmas Day from the Roman Breviary following the third reading (Isaiah 52: 1–6), invocation for the citizens of Sion / Jerusalem to seek freedom. ³³
(Woe is me	Psalm 120: 5, in translation by Miles Coverdale. The sole English-texted work incorporated into the motet section of Husbands’s partbooks.)
<i>Plange Sion</i>	Joel 1: 8, 9, 12, 13; Joel 2: 17: Vulgate translation, with the addition of the ‘Sion’ lament for the religious-political situation in ancient Jerusalem, potentially resonant in mid-century England.
<i>Converte nos</i>	Lamentations 5: 21; Deuteronomy 21: 8; Joel 2: 17; Psalms 118: 132–5: Latin translation of Child’s anthem text ‘Turn thou us, O good Lord’ (Ash Wednesday ‘antheme’ specified by Thomas Cranmer in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer and its successors of 1552 and 1559), words which became associated with the annual commemoration of Charles I as a martyr by the Church of England in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. The words were highly resonant for royalists after the King’s execution in 1649. Child’s English anthem dates from the 1640s and was revised in the

³¹ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 158–90.

³² ‘Lauda Sion’ is one of four early sequences with verses preserved in the Roman Missal from 1570, following the Council of Trent. For a Vatican-approved edition contemporary to Child, see the digital copy at D-Mbs of *Missale Romanum* (Antwerp, 1626), 342 (scan 448 of 946) <@>.

³³ For a seventeenth-century edition of the Roman Breviary authorised by the Vatican, see the digital copy at D-Mbs of *Breviarium Romanum* (Antwerp, 1630), 191 <@>.

1670s. The Latin of his motet, however, notably differs from the wording of this text in the Latin Book of Common Prayer, used for Latin liturgies in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford (Latin translations of the Book of Common Prayer were printed in London in 1560 and 1662, following the respective English prayer books printed in 1559 and 1662). Psalm 33: 12 (Vulgate); Sirach 24: 5 (Ecclesiasticus/Wisdom of Sirach); Wisdom 9: 10c (Wisdom of King Solomon): the two Wisdom texts, added to the psalm verse, were and are not in the Protestant canon. The Solomon text concerns earthly kingship given from God, which was resonant for Stuart kingship, as ‘Sion’, the word Child incorporated into ‘Plange Sion’. Wisdom was personified in the Bible as the divine co-creator (Proverbs 8: 22–31), and fundamental to royal rule and kingship.³⁴

In overview, then, Child sets a highly distinct and varied group of Latin texts, with some unique settings. His text sources range from the words of Italian saints (hymn verses of Aquinas and Fortunantus, and high-Christological prayer of Bernardino), verses from Roman Missals and Breviaries, alongside Biblical texts with Calvinist origins: an Old Testament psalm translated by Tremellius-Junius (‘Cantate Jehovahae’), alongside New Testament texts translated by Beza (‘O si vel’, from St Luke’s Gospel, and ‘Laudate Deum’, from the Book of Revelation). ‘Gloria Patri’, with its Trinitarian theology, would have been highly flexible in function in seventeenth-century domestic-musical contexts, as suggested by the frequency of its setting, by Dering, Child, Rogers and Christopher Gibbons, among others.³⁵ ‘Servus tuus’, which does not appear to have been set by any other English composer, sets a ‘wisdom’ text, Psalm 118, verses 125–6, urging God to act ‘for they have broken your law’. The motet’s words, akin to those of ‘Plange Sion’ and ‘O si vel’ (the latter to be addressed below), were apparently topical in the turbulent central years of the century in England, which included civil wars and Commonwealth rule following the beheading of Charles I and the abolition of the monarchy.

As mentioned above, three of Child’s thirteen motets set Latin from ‘Protestant’ translations originating in sixteenth-century Calvinist Geneva, Bibles with a denominational and educative function which would have excluded their use and presence in Roman Catholic liturgies.³⁶ These Latin translations have crucial links to the French-born Reformer John Calvin (1509–64) and scholastic traditions of Calvinism, and to the important Reformation cities of Geneva, Basel and Zurich in Switzerland, as well as Heidelberg in Germany, with its university founded in 1386. Emblematic of this scholarly and theological endeavour was the Old Testament work of the

³⁴ In 2 Chronicles 1, King Solomon, heir of David, asks God for wisdom at Jerusalem’s tabernacle: ‘God answered Solomon ... since your heart is set on this, and because you have not asked for riches, treasure, honour, the lives of your enemies, and also have not asked for a long life, but have asked for wisdom and knowledge for yourself, to govern my people of whom I have made you king, therefore wisdom and knowledge are granted you’, *The Revised New Jerusalem Bible*, trans. and ed. H. Wansbrough (London, 2019), 625.

³⁵ For example, GB-Ge, R.d.58–61, a varied collection of 107 vocal items associated with John Playford and music meetings at the ‘Old Jewry’, includes few-voice ‘Gloria Patri’ settings by Dering and Rogers; see I. Spink, ‘The Old Jewry ‘Musick-Society’: A Seventeenth-Century Catch Club’, *Musicology Australia* 2/1 (1967), 35–41.

³⁶ Hartley, ‘Networks of Translation’, i. 191–203.

Calvinist translators Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80) and his son-in-law Franciscus Junius Senior (1545–1602), as well as the New Testament translations of Theodore Beza (1519–1605), printed in Geneva and London.

The three translators had personal connections with Calvin and Geneva, and their work was often paired and printed together from the 1580s, including for example in *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive, Libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi: Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati; Iesu Christi D.N. Novum Testamentum* (London: Henry Middleton, 1581). The translators' work featured extensive theological commentary and exegesis in Latin surrounding their Biblical texts. Notably, Tremellius, Junius and Beza also dedicated particular published translations to European monarchs, including Elizabeth I (1569) and Frederick III, Elector Palatine (1581, the Middleton edition mentioned above). Beza published a poetic tribute to Elizabeth I in the broadside *Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam* (London, 1588), in addition to his dedication of *Icones, id est verae imagines vororum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium* (Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580) to James VI of Scotland, James I of England after 1603. The latter was a collection of illustrated poetic tributes to 93 church reformers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Tremellius and Beza had connection to the University of Cambridge: the former was Regius Professor of Hebrew between 1549 and 1553; the latter gave to the university the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (GB-Cu, MS Nn.2.41), a fifth-century manuscript featuring rare New Testament material in Latin and Greek.

Child's 'Cantate Jehovae' (Tremellius), 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum' (both Beza) were part of a distinctive nexus of works setting Latin of Genevan origin in *concertato* idioms. They also include settings of Tremellius's Old Testament Latin by (in likely chronological order) Dering, Child, Henry Lawes, Silas Taylor, Henry Bowman, Benjamin Rogers, Christopher Gibbons and Henry Purcell, together with settings of Beza's New Testament Latin by Child and Jeffreys.³⁷ This small group of settings, which appear to be unique to seventeenth-century England, are emblematic of the *concertato* motet's unique role and function in this broadly Protestant country. Notably, themes of kingship and lordship feature in the Tremellius settings: Psalm 9 (Henry Bowman, Silas Taylor, and, probably, Benjamin Rogers);³⁸ Psalm 96 (Dering, Christopher Gibbons, Henry Lawes); and Psalm 98 (Child).³⁹

Typical of the Tremellius Latin psalm settings, also, is the use of the Hebrew-derived 'Jehova' (together with derivatives and variants) for the word rendered 'Lord' in English and, typically, 'Dominus' in the Latin of the Vulgate translation, the approved Bible for the Roman Catholic liturgy and worship. These works include 'Canite Jehovae' (Dering and ?Rogers), 'Cantate Jehovae' (Bowman, Child, Taylor), 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' (Purcell). 'Jehovam' and 'Jehovae'

³⁷ A single *stile-antico* Tremellius setting by Thomas Tomkins, 'Celebrate Jehovam', survives incomplete (3 parts, CTB, from an original 6-part work) in the Blossom Partbooks at US-CLwr. Ross Duffin has reconstructed this work and suggested it was written for the wedding of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I / VI, to the Elector Frederick of Palatine at Whitehall in February 1613; see *Cantiones sacrae: Madrigalian Motets from Jacobean England*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 142, ed. R.W. Duffin (Middleton WI, 2006), 41–53 and xiii. Court and royalist contexts are central to the *concertato* Tremellius settings, discussed above.

³⁸ Attributable to Rogers because of its style and its presence in GB-Lcm, MS 2039 alongside motets by him.

³⁹ Henry Lawes's canon a3 'Laudate Jehovam' also sets words of Tremellius (Psalm 117, vv. 1–2); see H. Lawes, *Sacred Music*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, Early English Church Music 61 (London, 2020), 154.

also occur in Christopher Gibbons's 'Celebrate Dominum', which combines both Tremellius and Vulgate verses.⁴⁰ It is notable that, in general, composers set Tremellius texts with greater verbal flexibility than that seen in seventeenth-century Vulgate settings, whether by English or Italian composers.⁴¹ The settings of Tremellius, Junius and Beza have a decided presence in court-related sources across the seventeenth century from the 1630s onwards, notably at Oxford's Music School with its strong royalist associations.

Nine settings survive of Beza's New Testament Latin, apparently unique to seventeenth-century England and to Child and Jeffreys, composed in the central decades of the century. The Child and Jeffreys motets use the editions of 1565 and 1582, both originally printed in Geneva by Henricus Stephanus. Child's two Beza works, 'O si vel' and 'Laudate Deum', use the 1582 text alone, which presented an 'updated' Latin translation alongside columns of Greek Biblical text and the Latin Vulgate, all supplemented by a Latin commentary. Jeffreys made use of texts from both editions, and his seven settings include two motets with revised versions; the ones in GB-Lcm, MS 920 are later-1650s reworkings rather than wholly new and separate compositions. In particular, both Child and Jeffreys, in no less than seven of the nine extant Beza motets, set gospel-text verses narrating Jesus's arrival in Jerusalem at the start of the turbulent Passiontide events. Table 4 lists the extant Beza settings.

Table 4: Settings of Beza's New Testament Latin by William Child and George Jeffreys
Title / Scoring / Text / Publication Date of Latin Text / Musical Source / Scribe

William Child	
O si vel / CATB, bc / Luke 19: 42 / 1582 / GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 / Husbands Senior	
Laudate Deum / ATTB, bc / Revelation 19: 5–7 / 1582 / GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 / Husbands Senior	
George Jeffreys	
Visa urbe, flexit super ea / TTB, bc / Luke 19: 41–42 / 1565 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338; GB-Lcm, MS 920 / autograph score; autograph partbooks	
Et recordatus est Petrus verborum Jesus / TTB, bc / Matthew 26: 75 / 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338	
Ego sum panis ille vitae / CMTB, bc / John 6: 48–50, 54 / 1565, 1582 ⁴² / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338	

⁴⁰ See Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 191–236 for an overview of Tremellius settings. For a discussion of Tremellius texts and settings in GB-Cfm, 163, ff. 46–73; see A. Howard, 'A Mid-century Musical Friendship: Silas Taylor and Matthew Locke', *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. L.P. Austern, C. Bailey and A.E. Winkler (Bloomington and Indianapolis IN, 2017), 127–49. It is a mid-century manuscript, containing Latin- and English-texted *concertato* settings, associated with Silas Taylor, Matthew Locke and music meetings in Commonwealth Herefordshire.

⁴¹ Child added additional references in his text of 'Cantate Jehovae' to musical instruments, perhaps referring to his obbligato instrumental parts, unspecified though idiomatic for cornetts. Purcell added significant words of emphasis at key structural moments in 'Jehova quam multi sunt hostes mei' (1677–8), which may have been topical to the current Exclusion Crisis; see Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', i. 203–14 and i. 270–85 for a discussion of these motets with Tremellius texts.

⁴² The 1565 and 1582 Beza editions have identical translations here.

Hosanna filio David / TTB, bc / Matthew 21: 9b; Luke 19: 38 / 1565, 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338; GB-Lcm, MS 920

Hosanna filio David / CCMATB / Matthew 21: 9b; Luke 19: 38 / 1565, 1582 / GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338

Child's 'O si vel' and the two versions of Jeffreys's 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' set as if in tandem the highly poignant verses from St Luke's Gospel (ch. 19, vv. 39–40), where Jesus weeps over Jerusalem, expressing his words and tears of lament over this sacred city. We shall see that Lucan words and imagery were used and appropriated in highly personal writings by Charles I not long before his execution.

GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37 were certainly copied after the Restoration, though aspects of the text usage and musical features of Child's 'O si vel', alongside Jeffreys's setting of the same Luke text, suggest an earlier origin for this motet. Detailed analyses of Jeffreys's manuscripts by Thompson and Wainwright, in relation to the cultural contexts of Christopher Hatton III and Jeffreys, has affirmed that these seven Beza settings date from between 1638 to 1648, with the exception of the new setting of 'Hosanna filio David', which probably dates from the early 1660s: with its six-part chorus and virtuosic bass solo setting a text of Davidic kingship, it was perhaps intended to celebrate the Restoration.⁴³ A study of GB-Lbl, Add. MS 10,338, Jeffreys's autograph scorebook of 126 pieces, instrumental and vocal, English-, Latin- and Italian-texted, has enabled significant insights into their dating and copying gained through a study of the 35 gatherings of 13 different types of paper.⁴⁴

There is the strong possibility that these works have close associations with the court at Oxford in the early 1640s, when Jeffreys was organist to Charles I and Christopher Hatton III was Comptroller to the king's household. In this respect, the Jeffreys and Child Beza texts, addressing themes of kingship, Christ's suffering, and 'that which belongs to peace' (a phrase occurring only twice in the New Testament, as will be seen) appear highly significant in terms of the religious and political contexts surrounding these motets. They undoubtedly stem from the exceptionally turbulent and challenging times for royalists in the 1640s, when public worship and choral foundations were prohibited by Parliament, and before the King's execution. Jeffreys's revision of 'Visa urbe, flevit super ea' in the partbooks GB-Lcm, MS 920 appear to have been copied in the later 1650s, possibly for use at Hatton III's Kirby Hall or at his London residence following his return from France.⁴⁵ The historical-contextual resonances of these verses will now be addressed, to provide a case study of the seventeenth-century topicality of Child's Beza-texted 'O si vel', surviving solely in GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.32–37.

⁴³ R. Thompson, 'George Jeffreys and the 'Stile Nuovo' in English Sacred Music: A New Date for His Autograph Score, British Library, Add. MS 10338', *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), 32–3; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 136–7, 159. See, also G. Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, Musica Britannica 105, ed. J.P. Wainwright (London, 2021), xxxiv.

⁴⁴ See esp. Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, ed. Wainwright, xxvii–xl. Jeffreys's Beza settings are as follows: 'Et recordatus est Petrus', ff. 119r–v; 'Hosanna Filio David' a3, ff. 132–3; 'Visa urbe flevit super ea', ff. 134v–5; 'Ego sum Panis', ff. 183–5v.

⁴⁵ Jeffreys, *English Sacred Music*, ed. Wainwright, xl.

This Lucan passage is rare within musical settings in general, and also as a seventeenth-century motet text featuring words from one of the four gospels spoken directly by Jesus himself. The passage from the 1582 version of Beza's Latin translation of Luke 19: 42 as set by Child is as follows:

O si vel tu nosces, vel hoc saltem tuo die
quae ad pacem pertinent, sed nunc occulta oculis tuis.

O, if only you, even you, had recognised, at least on this your day,
the things which belong to peace, but now are hidden from your eyes.

Luke 19: 42, set by Child with a range of compositional techniques including cumulative repetition (to be outlined), is distinctive within the New Testament: only this verse and Luke 14: 32 contain the phrase 'that which belongs to peace' in Beza's translation (with 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' in 19: 42 and 'quae ad pacem spectant' in 14: 32). These words concern a king considering war, a theme certainly pertinent to the 1640s with the three civil wars (1642–6, 1648–9 and 1649–51) between the 'Cavalier' supporters of the King and the 'Roundhead' supporters of Parliament, conflicts concerning the manner of the government of England.⁴⁶

Child's and Jeffreys's Lucan phrases concerning peace and the city of its location also resonate with words from Psalm 122, v. 6 (Vulgate Psalm 121), the 'peace of Jerusalem' (with Vulgate translation as 'Rogate quae ad pacem sunt Hierusalem et abundantiana diligentibus te'). Significantly, this psalm, with its opening phrase 'I was glad', was sung as an 'Antheme' for Charles I's entry into Westminster Abbey for his coronation on 2 February 1626; it has been used at all subsequent coronations, including a choral setting by Henry Purcell written for the coronation of James II in 1685.⁴⁷ The city of Jerusalem was certainly an important symbol and reference point for Charles I throughout his reign, as can be seen by his use of the term in the very different circumstances of the first Civil War, 17 years after his coronation. When the court was 'exiled' at Oxford in 1643, Charles referred to London as his nation's Jerusalem in an address given to the Vice-Chancellor and members of the University of Oxford, expressing his intentions to stay in the city and his gratitude to the university. He hoped the situation would be temporary, 'till Wee can with safety to Our honour and Person in peace returne to the Jerusalem of Our Nation, Our City of *London*'.⁴⁸

In a similar vein, Child himself made explicit and poignant use of the image of Jerusalem's destruction through the text of Psalm 79 (vv. 1, 4, 5, a prayer for mercy for the holy city) in his anthem 'O Lord God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance' in the English translation of Miles Coverdale (1488–1569). Child's words of the second half of the first verse, 'Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones', are given significant political, religious and cultural resonance by the subtitle on the score copied by Thomas Tudway (c.1650–1726), a

⁴⁶ The uniqueness of the theme and language of Luke 19: 42, with its connection to Luke 14: 32, has been highlighted in *The New Testament Freshly Translated*, ed. P. Dainty, trans. N. King (Stowmarket, 2006), 199.

⁴⁷ Details and sources for the 1626 musical setting of Psalm 122 do not appear to have survived. For a discussion of Bishop Laud's order-of-service and possibility that the text was set by Thomas Tomkins; see M. Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge, 2012), 38.

⁴⁸ J. De Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642–46', *English Historical Review* 117 (2002), 1204–27, at 1207.

Restoration chorister in the Chapel Royal when Child was an organist there: ‘A full Anthem in 5 parts compos’d ... in y^e year 1644 On y^e occasion of y^e Abolishing The Common Prayer And overthrowing y^e constitution, both in Church and State’.⁴⁹

In a compositional style more akin to settings of penitential texts by Byrd than *concertato* works by Grandi or Dering, Child’s anthem foregrounds the text ‘thy holy temple have they defiled’ by the work’s first clear use of five-part homophony, which also throws into relief the subsequent contrapuntal imitation for ‘and made Jerusalem an heap of stones’. This imitative passage uses melodic descent, ascending sequence and textural variety to ‘paint’ subtly the words, as if to suggest physical destruction through motivic and textural fragmentation.⁵⁰ In the light of the political resonances of Christ’s lament over Jerusalem in ‘O si vel’, and the city’s destruction highlighted by Child in 1644, it is possible to view him as addressing the challenging circumstances of the 1640s and 1650s through the theme of Jerusalem in both a liturgical English setting and non-liturgical Latin work, a theme which connects strongly to Charles I and to the mid-century political situation.

Publications, including *Eikon Basilike* (with its subtitle ‘The Pourtrature of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings’) also highlighted such themes. This work, a professed spiritual autobiography of Charles I, published ten days after his execution at Whitehall on 30 January 1649, made a connection between the sufferings of Charles and Christ himself at Jerusalem, connections which had been expressed earlier in pamphlets and sermons, for example, by the Royalist divine and military chaplain, Edward Symmons (1607–49).⁵¹ In Symmons’s words (retaining the original italics and orthography), ‘I will set him [Charles I] forth in Christs *Robes*, as cloathed with *sorrows*; and shew what a perfect similitude there hath been and is between our *Saviour* and our *Sovereign* in the foure last years of both their sufferings’.⁵² In a similar fashion, Charles himself is shown to appropriate Christ’s narrative and actions in *Eikon Basilike*, even with direct reference to Jerusalem and to the very scene of Luke 19, as set by Child in ‘O si vel’, with Christ’s tears over the city as narrated within the New Testament solely in Luke 19: 41. In *Eikon Basilike*, ch. 26 Charles offers Christ-like forgiveness to soldiers who have just snatched him from Parliamentary custody at Holmby House, not long before his execution:

I pray God the storme be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate griefe, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty.⁵³

The highly emblematic frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*, the work of engraver and illustrator William Marshall (fl. 1617–49), provides contemporary hagiographic visual parallels and connections between the lives of Charles I and Christ; see Illus. 2. The palm trees on the left of the image, with

⁴⁹ GB-Lbl, Harley MS 7338, ff. 25v–28.

⁵⁰ See the critical edition, *The Treasury of English Church Music*, iii: 1650–1760, ed. P. Le Huray and C. Dearnley (London, 1965), 10–20, 241.

⁵¹ *Eikon Basilike* may have been written by John Gauden (1605–62) either alone or in collaboration with the King; Gauden became Bishop of Exeter at the Restoration. See F.F. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike of King Charles the First with a Note on the Authorship* (London, 1950), no. 91, pp. 92–4.

⁵² E. Symmons, *A Vindication of King Charles, or, a Loyal Subjects Duty* (London, 1648), 241 <@>.

⁵³ *Eikon Basilike, or The King’s Book*, ed. E. Almack (London, 1903), 150 <@>.

symbolic connection to Palm Sunday and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, are in close proximity to Marshall's temporally and geographically transposed Charles, portrayed as a Christian martyr. The king kneels in supplication with eyes set on the heavenly crown, the symbol of divine kingship and royalty, rather than the English crown by his feet. He holds a crown of thorns, referencing that of Christ.⁵⁴



Illus. 2: William Marshall, frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*

In the light of such publicly affirmed poetic, theological, musical and visual representations of Charles I as King David and Christ,⁵⁵ it is possible to view Child's and Jeffreys's settings of verses

⁵⁴ Marshall's image as source of royal polemic, independent of the *Eikon*, has been discussed by H. Pierce, 'Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649)', *Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, ed. G. Kemp (London, 2015), 79–86, at 81.

⁵⁵ Francis Smith has addressed the relationship between seventeenth-century representations of Charles I as King David and as a Christ figure, also highlighting Charles's personal views; see F. Smith, 'That Memorable Scene': The Image of King Charles the First in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Literature', Ph.D. thesis (University of York, 1993), 20 <@>.

from Luke 19, in the Latin of Theodore Beza, as royalist, domestic-devotional, musical expressions of the situation before Charles's execution. As such, Christ's prophetic words from Luke resonate significantly with seventeenth-century religious-political contexts, and can be seen to portray the king as a Christ-like figure, soon to be martyred, through a post-Reformation appropriation of Biblical texts and themes. Jesus's words, set by Child and Jeffreys, also connect with a strong tradition of 'current-situation' laments within Jewish scriptures and the history of ancient Israel, including the Book of Psalms and those of the Prophets Jeremiah and Joel, the latter being the source for Child's Jerusalem-connected 'Plange Sion'. The word 'Sion', added to the text by Child, had been symbolic of England and its monarchy since at least the time of Elizabeth I.⁵⁶ Indeed, recent research has emphasised the longevity and complexity of such appropriation of the themes and narratives of ancient Jerusalem and Israel within England from the Reformation onwards, and their very particular resonance to mid-seventeenth-century royalists. In the words of Achsah Guibbory, scholar of seventeenth-century English literature,

Royalists thought *they* were the true Israel and turned to the Hebrew Bible and Israelite analogies to create an 'Anglican' identity during the 1640s and 1650s for those who remained loyal to both monarchy and an English Church that had been dismantled by Parliament. Devotions and collections of psalms appeared, to be used by loyal subjects of Charles I, who was now identified with biblical David – an identity further elaborated by *Eikon Basilike* and Royalist pamphlets after the King's execution. But the narrative Royalists found most compelling was the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 bce and the subsequent Babylonian exile of the Jews. Psalms and Lamentations expressed Royalist grief about exile and destruction of their Temple.⁵⁷

A highly distinctive compositional feature of 'O si vel' within Child's collection of 13 Latin motets, and within the corpus of seventeenth-century motets by English composers in general, is its use of melodically varied, frequent, consistent and cumulative small-scale motivic repetition as a technique of text setting for a brief, single, Biblical verse.⁵⁸ The motet's intricate use of such varied small-scale repetition for this Beza-translation text, allusive of Jerusalem, can be seen significantly to emphasise and embody the pathos and intensity of Jesus's words of lament, resonant of Charles I's mid-century situation as outlined above. Child heightens the intensity and exasperation of Jesus's words, even, as translated by Beza, by adding an initial 'O'. Child's very slight revision of Beza in 'O si vel', though, may even be influenced by the composer's awareness of the often Beza-paired Tremellius translation of Luke 19: 42, which does incorporate this exclamatory vowel. Child's Biblical verse also receives larger-scale structural emphasis and musical variety through use of two main sections (bb. 1–46, 47–110), each working towards a clear perfect cadence with a 'Tierce de Picardie' D major chord, following a wide range of textures, and modulations using the same cadence across varied key centres. The differentiated, small-scale, motifs set and present distinct text-units, and are repeated in numerous statements.

⁵⁶ In the words of Achsah Guibbory, 'Elizabeth I's reign saw the frequent identification of England with 'Sion' and the Queen with the monarchs of Ancient Israel'; see A. Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews, and Israel in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2010), 28.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 121.

⁵⁸ For a critical edition of 'O si vel', see Hartley, 'Networks of Translation', ii. 389–96.

Child's use of repetition of motif and text in 'O si vel' gives especial emphasis to the words 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent' ('the things which belong to peace'), a phrase used on only two occasions in the New Testament, Luke 19: 42 and Luke 14: 32, recalling 'the peace of Jerusalem' from Psalm 122, sung during the entrance procession of Charles I at his coronation in Westminster Abbey.⁵⁹ There are six emphatic statements of these words at the conclusion of the first section of 'O si vel', highlighted by imitation and cumulative use of four-part vocal texture, which sees the canto part in dialogue with alto, tenor and bass, in three-part homophony (bb. 41–6). These same words, 'quae ad pacem tuam pertinent', receive four motivic presentations, occasionally related in rhythm or melodic shape, throughout their no-less-than 21 iterations, nine in each half of the motet (bb. 1–46, 47–100 respectively), with three additional repetitions of 'quae ad pacem' in the first section through motivic extension: bb. 9–13 (alto), 44–6 (canto) and 42–6 (alto, tenor, bass). The final musical presentation of 'quae ad pacem pertinent' (bb. 100–2) is highlighted by declamatory three-part homophony (canto, alto and bass), punctuated by crotchet rests before and after: only the second use of this technique in the motet, though a notable text-setting technique of Child's 'O bone Jesu'. Child's distinctive motifs for 'quae ad pacem pertinent' are given in Ex. 2.

Motif 1:

The image displays a musical score for Motif 1, consisting of four staves. The top staff is for the Canto part, marked with a '4' above the first measure and a 't.' above the final measure. It contains the lyrics 'di - e, quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti - nent,'. The second staff is for the Alto part, marked with an '8' above the first measure, and contains the lyrics 'di - e,'. The third staff is for the Tenor part, containing the lyrics 'quae ad pa-cem tu - - am per - ti-nent, O_'. The bottom staff is for the Bass part, containing the lyrics 'O_'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and a key signature change to one flat at the end of the bass line.

⁵⁹ Matthias Range has drawn attention to a marginal note in Bishop Laud's order of service for Charles I's coronation, 'This Anthem was newly appointed and made', though it is not known who composed it. Thomas Tomkins had responsibility for the coronation music, assisted by senior members of the Chapel Royal, William Heather, Nathaniel Giles and John Stevens. Range suggests that Tomkins's short full anthem 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem' (words from later in Psalm 122, with the initial text 'I was glad') may be a fragment of a larger setting of the psalm; see Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations*, 39.

Motif 2A:

50

di-e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti - nent, O

Motif 3:

75

Quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti - nent vel

Quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti-nent vel hoc sal-tem tu - o di - e,

Motif 2B:

91

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent,

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu - am per - ti-nent,

— di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent, quae ad

di - e quae ad pa-cem tu-am per - ti-nent,

#6

Ex. 2: 'Quae ad pacem' motifs in Child's 'O si vel'.

Notable in 'O si vel' is the motet's use of melisma and elements of virtuosic vocal technique, which are thrown into relief by the preponderance of syllabic setting. Such writing includes Child's use

of semiquavers in tenor and alto solos (bb. 52–5, seen above in Motif 2, and bb. 64–7, respectively), alongside the canto and tenor duet (bb. 82–6, for example). Child also uses *trillo* ornamentation (indicated by the symbol ‘t.’) in the canto part on nine occasions (bb. 6, 20, 27, 31, 35, 80, 85, 91 and 91), generally at cadences. The Beza text, also, suggests a non-liturgical context, as the above discussion of Protestant Latin Bibles has suggested, even potentially for domestic-devotional use during Holy Week, the week in the church calendar paying homage to and ‘enacting’ the very solemn events of Christ’s last days in Jerusalem as narrated in Luke 19. The aspects of virtuosity and Italianate idioms highlight the ‘professional’ function of Child’s motets, and their suitability for accomplished vocal ensembles – music fully suited to performance in ‘domestic’ contexts, whether in Oxford’s Music School or non-liturgical performance spaces at court associated with the Lutes, Viols and Voices.

In light of Charles I’s own use of this verse of Luke 19 in *Eikon Basilike*, published ten days after the King’s execution and receiving no less than 35 English editions in 1649 alone, alongside a criticism and riposte by John Milton, one could even suggest that, for mid-century royalists, Child’s and Jeffreys’s settings of this text represented musical ‘icons’ of the King himself.⁶⁰ Charles I’s martyrdom was commemorated in the Restoration prayer book through the text ‘Turn thou us, O good Lord’, set by Child in motet form as ‘Converte nos’, which can be seen as his parallel musical commemoration of the king.⁶¹ The discussion above has highlighted distinctive musical and textual aspects of Child’s ‘O si vel’. Child’s motet and Jeffreys’s settings of ‘Visa urbe super flevit ea’ appear to be the only extant *concertato* settings of Jesus’s tearful lament over Jerusalem, as narrated in Luke, using words of the Stuart-connected and Stuart-affirming Calvinist reformer Theodore Beza, whose work impacted on the translation of the King James Bible.⁶²

Following the Restoration, in 1679 Beza’s Latin New Testament was published and printed in close proximity to the Music School: at the press in Oxford’s Sheldonian Theatre, designed by Christopher Wren and opened in July 1669. The theatre, notably, featured Charles II’s crest above the north door, surrounded by the motto of the Order of the Garter, the chivalric order revived by his father Charles I, which was central to the Caroline concept of kingship.⁶³ The Sheldonian *Novum Testamentum*, without textual annotations and commentary, used Beza’s 1582 translation (the version set by Child), and an image of the theatre is featured on the frontispiece of this ‘royal’ edition, below a focal image of the crest of Charles II, with the garter motto visible.⁶⁴ The imagery of this Beza edition, then, can be seen to affirm the Royalist, court-cultural nature and heritage of

⁶⁰ See E.S. Wheeler, ‘*Eikon Basilike* and the Rhetoric of Self-Representation’, *The Royal Image*, ed. T.N. Corns (Cambridge, 1999), 122. Wheeler, *ibid.*, 157, addresses Milton’s response in *Eikonoclastes* (London, 1649), noting that ‘In this battle over which memories of Charles’s reign would survive, at base there was a fundamental disagreement over the nature of political representation, taken in the broadest sense’.

⁶¹ Child’s Latin here, notably, differs from the Latin of the ‘Converte nos’ text, seen in the commemoration of Charles I liturgy in the Latin Book of Common Prayer (London, 1662), with its potential use in the chapels of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. It is possible that Child’s motets could have been used in such Latin liturgies, his varied and diverse texts (even crossing denominational boundaries), together with their musical sources, appear to suggest a broader domestic-devotional usage with potential for varied and flexible use.

⁶² I. Backus, ‘Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament’, D. Phil. Thesis (U. of Oxford, 1976), 197–8 <@>.

⁶³ R. Cust, ‘Charles I and the Order of the Garter’, *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013), 343–69.

⁶⁴ *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Interprete Theodore Beza* (Oxford, 1679).

this ceremonial space adjacent to the Bodleian Library's Schools Quadrangle, the physical home of the seventeenth-century Music School, the institution instrumental in the survival of Child's and Husbands's work bequeathed by Lowe, and of 'O si vel'.

THE CRAFT OF CREATIVITY: JAMES SHERARD'S OPUS 2

JOHN CUNNINGHAM

Introduction

Scholarly discussions of the trio sonata in England generally focus on Purcell and Corelli; Purcell was the first English composer to seriously engage with the genre. As is well known, he published a set of twelve sonatas in 1683; his widow issued a set of ten in 1697. Corelli's sonatas were known in England by at least the 1690s and remained hugely popular throughout much of the eighteenth century.¹ Little attention has been paid, however, to other composers working in England who wrote trio sonatas, especially native composers.² A dozen sonatas survive by composers other than Purcell working in England during the reign of Charles II, including works by John Blow, Robert King, Isaac Blackwell and Sampson Estwick.³ All are single sonatas; none were printed. Indeed, the only collection of sonatas to be printed in England between Purcell's two collections was Gottfried Finger's *Sonatae XII. Pro diversis instrumentis* (1688).⁴ The dawn of the new century, however, brought with it a more sustained engagement with the trio sonata among composers working in England. Between c.1700–15 there were at least 18 collections of ensemble sonatas issued in London, of which more than half were by native composers: William Williams, William Corbett, Matthew Novell, William Topham, Daniel Purcell and James Sherard.⁵ The impetus for this lay in the increased appetite for Italian music but also in the expansion of the competitive music printing market in London through the emergence of the firm of John Walsh and the London agents of the Dutch printer Estienne Roger.⁶

Part of the research for this essay was conducted during my Sassoon Visiting Fellowship at the Bodleian Library (July 2018). Illus. 3–9 are courtesy of the Bodleian Library and reproduced by permission.

¹ See O. Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 2 (1977), 51–96; P. Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford, 1999), ch. 11, esp. 188–99; L. Bowring, 'The coming over of the works of the great Corelli': The Influence of Italian Violin Repertoire in London, 1675–1705', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation*, ed. J.P. Wainwright, J. Knowles, A. Cheetham (Newcastle, 2014), 181–212.

² See J. Cunningham, '“Faint copies” and “excellent Originals”: Composition and Consumption of Trio Sonatas in England, c.1695–1714', *Eine Geographie der Triosonate*, ed. I.M. Groote and M. Giuggioli, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft: Serie II (Bern, 2018), 111–38. See also, M. Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England, 1675–1720', Ph.D. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1960); M.-J. Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008).

³ These sonatas are all edited in *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, Purcell Society Companion Series 4 (London, 2012). The sonatas by Estwick and Blackwell survive incomplete. See also the introduction to that volume for a comprehensive survey of the English context to c.1685.

⁴ It was reprinted by Estienne Roger c.1700. Three sonatas from Finger's collection are included in *Restoration Music for Three Violins, Bass Viol and Continuo*, ed. P. Holman and J. Cunningham, Musica Britannica 103 (London, 2018).

⁵ For these, see Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originals". To this list can be added the gentleman composer Robert Orme, though only a single sonata of his was printed.

⁶ For context, see also H.D. Johnstone, 'Music in the Home I', *The Eighteenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain 4, ed. Johnstone and R. Fiske (Oxford, 1990), esp. 173–88.

Time has largely forgotten these ‘English’ trio sonatas and their composers. They have all been edited by the present author and will be freely available online in score and parts.⁷ To the best of my knowledge, only William Williams’s collection is available complete in a commercial recording.⁸ Composers such as Williams were heavily influenced by Corelli, and are thus often dismissed for their stylistic dependence.⁹ This perspective implies that composers of the period sought to achieve originality, whereas, as Rebecca Herissone has shown, the principles of *imitatio* (‘the study, and analysis and emulation of works by admired authors’) and *emulatio* (‘an attempt to improve on and surpass the module, so that it was no longer detectable’) still served as primary compositional techniques into the early eighteenth century, resulting ‘in a highly developed sense of continuity with the creative practices of past generations’.¹⁰ Moreover, the question has yet to be addressed: why did composers of more significant talent, such as John Eccles, William Croft and John Weldon, largely ignore the trio sonata?¹¹ Nevertheless, English trio sonatas can tell us a great deal about the assimilation of the Italian style in England, and when viewed as cultural documents (rather than purely as musical ones) they can deepen our understanding of the commercial music market in London in the early eighteenth century. For example, many of these collections also carry dedications to members of the nobility, suggesting that they benefitted from – or perhaps depended upon – traditional forms of patronage.¹²

One of the peculiarities of these early eighteenth-century English trio sonatas is that so few manuscript sources survive.¹³ Indeed, for some of the printed collections only a single copy is extant,¹⁴ and Corbett’s Op. 4, book 2 (1713) survives incomplete, lacking the violin 2 part for two sonatas. So far only two manuscript sources of this repertoire have come to light.¹⁵ One is an incomplete and poorly copied set of violin parts for some of Matthew Novell’s *da camera* sonatas, published in 1704 and reprinted in 1705.¹⁶ The other – the subject of this article – is a set of parts

⁷ *Early Eighteenth-Century English Trio Sonatas*, ed. J. Cunningham (forthcoming).

⁸ *William Williams: Trio Sonatas*, Camerata Köln, cpo 999 813-2 (2002).

⁹ For example, John H. Baron’s dismissal of William Topham’s Op. 3 sonatas (1709) as showing ‘little invention and much imitation of Corelli’; see J.H. Baron, *Intimate Music: A History of the Idea of Chamber Music* (New York, 1998), 117.

¹⁰ See R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge, 2013), especially ch. 1; quotations are from *ibid.*, 4, 5 and 60 respectively. See also Cunningham, “Faint copies” and “excellent Originals”.

¹¹ There are four trio sonatas by William Croft, but they are found in only a single manuscript source, copied by one of Croft’s apprentices. It is not known exactly when they were written or for whom. It may well be that these sonatas were written as a compositional exercise, in a similar way to Purcell’s fantasias; Harry Johnstone has suggested that they may have been performed at Thomas Britton’s Clerkenwell concerts: *William Croft: Complete Chamber Music*, ed. H.D. Johnstone, Musica Britannica 88 (London, 2009), xxiv. Croft’s trio sonatas are unremarkable and in the Corelli mould, though as Johnstone notes (*ibid.*, xxiv-xxv), ‘the resemblance [of the last movement of Croft’s sonata in E minor] to the corresponding movement of Sonata 8 in Purcell’s 1697 set is so close that it can only be a deliberate parody’.

¹² See Cunningham, “Faint copies” and “excellent Originals”.

¹³ Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England’ lists around 60 manuscripts of English provenance to c.1715 that include trio sonatas.

¹⁴ For example, only single copies of both the 1700 and 1703 editions of William Williams’ Op. 1 are extant.

¹⁵ I am here excluding the sonatas of Johann Christoph Pepusch, who began to compose à due sonatas soon after his arrival in England in 1697; see Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England’, 146–7. No autograph sources survive for the sonatas of Blow, King, Blackwell or Estwick; see *Restoration Trio Sonatas*, ed. Holman and Cunningham.

¹⁶ Lbl, Tyson MS 2, an early eighteenth-century manuscript, includes violin parts for Novell’s sonatas nos. 3, 4, 8, 10, 11 and 12. Little else was known about Novell until Michael Talbot’s recent article, ‘The Mysterious Matthew Novell: An English Imitator of Corelli’, *Music & Letters* 98 (2017), 343–64.

for James Sherard's second collection of trio sonatas, published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam c.1715–16. Housed in the Bodleian Library as MS Mus. Sch. D.252, the manuscript parts were professionally copied by a scribe associated with Sherard. Mentioned only in passing by Michael Tilmouth in his 1966 article on Sherard,¹⁷ D.252 was first brought to light by Margaret Crum in her 1982 paper on the Sherard collection. The passage is worth quoting in full:

It happened at the first instance rather by chance that I looked into the set of part-books titled 'Sonate di Giacomo Sherard. Opera secunda', because I knew nothing about James Sherard and nobody ever asked about this manuscript. The music was transcribed by a copyist (in a style rather similar to that of the hands that worked together in the big Rawlinson part-books) but there are alterations (in another hand) of a kind that suggest the composer himself. There are minor alterations, such as added markings of tempo or dynamics, and changes of notes so that (for example) a brief melody may be substituted for one held note, or a few notes in a part may be altered. Some more substantial rewritings was done on pieces of paper pasted over the old copy. Sometimes a whole page will have been crossed through and the word "new" written at the top of the page. The correcting hand is of course James Sherard's.¹⁸

As Crum notes, the manuscript preserves early versions of several movements of the sonatas, as well as Sherard's annotations and revisions, offering a rare glimpse into his creative process. This article offers the first detailed examination of D.252, discussing the ways in which Sherard developed his compositional ideas, especially within the context of Herissone's recent work on musical creativity in the Restoration.¹⁹

James Sherard

James Sherard is today best known for his two collections of trio sonatas, published by Roger. Indeed, of the composers listed above, his name is arguably the most familiar. As the details of Sherard's life have been discussed elsewhere,²⁰ we can here limit ourselves to the essential points. Born in 1666, he trained as an apothecary before opening his own successful shop in London in the early 1680s; by his death in 1738 he had amassed a fortune of over £150,000 and owned several properties.²¹ In the late 1690s Sherard became associated with the Russell family, one of the wealthiest in the country. His brother, William, accompanied the then Marquess of Tavistock, Wriothsley Russell (1680–1711) on his Grand Tour in 1698–99; Russell became the second Duke of Bedford in 1700. In the decade before his untimely death from smallpox on 26 May 1711, Russell cultivated a musical household, employing Nicola Haym and Nicola Cosimi, whom he brought back with him from Rome. The musicians arrived in England in March 1701 and stayed

¹⁷ M. Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', *Music & Letters* 47 (1966), 313–22, at 318, fn. 13.

¹⁸ M. Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection'; see the facsimile in this issue. In the Revised Descriptions, GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4, Crum described the manuscript thus: 'in the hand of a professional copyist. Corrections were made by Sherard (e.g., fols. 4, 5, 46) and sections were crossed out and marked 'New', indicating that the passage had been rewritten. Published by Estienne Roger, ca. 1715. Large upright 4°, 58 leaves. Each part is a single quire. Watermark bend and lily, LVG. Ruling 12 5-lined staves, red marginal ruling. The parts had no covers. Music School B 4. 12. Hake no. CXVI. The only other significant comment on the manuscript is in S. Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 357–79, at 375.

¹⁹ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*.

²⁰ For Sherard, see esp. Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer'; M. Tilmouth and R. Thompson, 'James [Giacomo] Sherard [Sharwood]', *GMO*; W.W. Webb, rev. S. Mandelbrote, 'James Sherard', *ODNB*.

²¹ National Archives, PROB 11/688/95.

at Southampton House, the Russell family's London residence, and organised private concerts. Cosimi returned to Italy in 1705; Haym remained in the Russell household, as 'Master of his Chamber Musick', until the Duke's death.²² James Sherard fitted well into such company. A gifted composer and musician, according to Hawkins, Sherard 'played finely on the violin'.²³ Peter Holman has pointed out, however, that Sherard's music library (see below) suggests that he was also a gamba player, likely a student of Gottfried Finger.²⁴

Through Estienne Roger, Sherard published two collections of *da chiesa* trio sonatas, which must have been among the repertoire performed at Southampton House. The first collection has an ornately engraved titlepage, including the Russell coat of arms and family motto, 'Che sara, sara': *Sonate à Tré doi Violini, e Violone col Basso per l'Organo, Di Giacomo Sherard Filarmonico, Opera Prima* (Illus. 1).²⁵ The titlepage of the second collection bears only text: *Sonate a Tre doi Violini, Violoncello e Basso Continuo Di Giacomo Sherard Filarmonico, e Uno dei Membri della Societa Reale di Londra, Opera Seconda*. Both collections are undated. The first, dedicated to Wriothesley Russell, was advertised in September 1701; the second was apparently published in 1715–16.²⁶ Michael Tilmouth suggested that the death of the young duke marked an end for Sherard's interest in music, who dedicated the rest of his life to botany.²⁷

The sombre text-only titlepage of Op. 2 could be seen as a reflection of the shift in the Russell household after the death of the second duke; it refers to Sherard's fellowship of the Royal Society of London, which he received in 1706. In her 1940 account of the Russell family, Gladys Scott Thomson made reference to a copy of Sherard's Op. 2 at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, the principal family seat of the Bedford family since the 1620s: '[Sherard's] best known and most complete work, a sonata for three instruments, violin, violoncello and bass, was, however, only

²² For Cosimi, see L. Lindgren, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705', *Studi Musicali* xi (1982), 229–48; A.W. Cooper, 'Nicola Cosimi, 1667–1717: His English Visit, 1701–1705', *The Strad* 108/1285 (1997) <@>; for Haym, see *Nicola Haym: Complete Sonatas*, parts 1 and 2, ed. L. Lindgren, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 116–17 (Madison WI, 2002).

²³ J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776; 2/1853; repr. 1963), ii. 806 <@>. The violin 1 part of Sherard's Opus 2 in the British Library copy (see below) has a note by a former owner, 'W^m. Salter, Surgeon & Apothecary. Whitechapel': 'Mr. Sherard was an Apothecary in Crutched-Friers about the year 1735, performed well on the Violin, was very intimate with Handel & other Masters'; Salter dated the set '1789'. The parts suggest that they were used in performance, with Salter singling-out Sonatas 4 ('very good'), 8 ('good') for particular praise.

²⁴ See R. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655–1730)', 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), esp. i. 37–42 <@>; P. Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 78–80.

²⁵ There are at least nine surviving copies of Sherard's Op. 1, not all complete; see *RISM Catalog* <@>; R. Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger, Part Four: The Catalogue* <@>. In addition, a violin 1 book is in the present author's possession, and another is in the music collection at Burghley House near Stamford; see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford*, comp. G. Gifford (Aldershot, 2002), 313. Another copy is at Woburn Abbey; see Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', esp. 317; Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection'. A copy of Sherard's Op. 1 was among the items in the library of Thomas Britton, auctioned after his death in 1714; see Hawkins, *A General History*, ii. 792.

²⁶ The plate number for Op. 2 is 398, which suggests a date of 1716; see R. Rasch, "La famoso mano di Monsieur Roger": Antonio Vivaldi and his Dutch Publishers', *Informazioni e studi Vivaldiani* 17 (1996), 89–135, esp. 96–8; Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger*. There is a facsimile of Op. 2: *James Sherard: Twelve Trio Sonatas, Opus 2*, intro. M. Gilmore (Oxford, 1986). However, see the review by M. Tilmouth, *Music & Letters* 69 (1988), 129–31.

²⁷ Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer'.

completed after Wriothesley's death and so was dedicated not to the latter, but to his young son. The parts of the music, in their original bindings, remain still at Woburn'.²⁸ Tilmouth reported the copy as 'mislaidd' by the mid-1960s; its loss is all the more frustrating given that it 'apparently contained other documents relating to the Duke's musicians'.²⁹

According to *RISM*, only five copies of Op. 2 are known:³⁰

- (1) GB-Ckc, Rw. 23.31–33: complete set; no dedication; violin 2 book lacks titlepage.³¹
- (2) GB-Lbl, f.24.(2.): complete set, bound with Sherard Op. 1 and Bassani Op. 5; no dedication.
- (3) S-Skma, Alströmer saml. B2:87a: complete set; no dedication.³²
- (4) US-BEb, Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, M312.4.S467: lacking violin 1; no dedication.³³
- (5) US-R, M412.4.S551: complete set; dedication in violin 2, violoncello and continuo.³⁴

Of these copies only that in US-R contains a dedication, presumably the same dedication as that in the lost copy at Woburn Abbey. Thomson was correct in noting that it is addressed to Wriothesley Russell, which she assumed to be the third Duke of Bedford, but it is in fact an exact reprint of the dedication Sherard used in his Op. 1 collection (see Illus. 2). If Sherard had a hand in the printing of Op. 2, as he did with his first collection, reprinting the dedication is at first glance a surprising choice. The dedication specifically references William Sherard's tutelage of Russell on his grand tour, praises Russell's understanding of music ("Theory *and* Practice") and recounts how the sonatas were performed for him. It also describes the sonatas as Sherard's '*first* Essays'. Wriothesley Russell's son, who bore his father's name, was born in 1708 and inherited his titles with the death of the second duke in May 1711. Rudolf Rasch's research into Roger's publishing house suggests that Sherard's Op. 2 were printed in 1715–16, when the third Duke would have been 7 or 8 years old.³⁵ Given that the dedications were not included in every copy, it may be that Sherard included it in some presentation copies associated with the family, perhaps as memoriam to the late duke and a means of honouring the current one, at least in name. However, the reprinting of the earlier dedication also suggests a level of detachment on Sherard's part.

Sherard's wealth and connections allowed him to amass a substantial music library, the extent of which – even to judge by the remnants now in the Bodleian – reveals a level of access to contemporary repertoire that was not widely available, even to professional composers. For

²⁸ G.S. Thomson, *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771* (London, 1940), 131.

²⁹ Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', 318, fn. 13.

³⁰ *RISM Catalog*. Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger*, does not list the Berkeley copy and tentatively lists an unverified copy at NL-DHgm, suggesting it may be a microfilm.

³¹ I am grateful to Dr James Clements, College Librarian, King's College, for providing this information.

³² I am grateful to Marina Demina, Librarian, Musik- och teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm, for providing this information.

³³ I am grateful to John Shepard, Curator of Music Collections at the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, for providing this information.

³⁴ I am grateful to David Peter John Coppen, Special Collections Librarian and Archivist at the Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, for providing me with this information and images from the print.

³⁵ The third Duke died even younger than his father, in 1732 aged 24: 'He was a spendthrift who endangered the whole Bloomsbury estate. ... His death happened just in time to prevent the estate in Bloomsbury being sold', *UCL Bloomsbury Project* <@>.

example, in the dedication of his Op. 1 sonatas (1700) to James Annesley, third Earl of Anglesey and Viscount Valentia, William Williams cited access to the Earl's library as a particular boon: '*The Judgement and Genius which your Lordship has shewn in Musick, by making one of the best Collections in the World, in your Travels thro' Italy, had very much over-aw'd me in this Undertaking*'. What remains of Sherard's collection has been in the Bodleian Library since the late eighteenth century. While a detailed study of the collection remains to be done and its full extent is yet to be determined, invaluable preliminary explorations have been made by Margaret Crum, and more recently by Stephen Rose.³⁶ Building on Crum's work, Rose helpfully identified four main categories of music in the Sherard collection: (1) gamba music by composers such as Finger (including autographs), Johannes Schenck, Johann Rudolph Radeck and Dietrich Buxtehude; (2) five volumes of sacred vocal music of German provenance;³⁷ (3) manuscripts Italianate trio sonatas, 'mostly copied in England from the late 1680s onwards'; (4) 40 printed collections of Italian trio sonatas and other instrumental works (though not Sherard's own collections): Rose suggested that many of these came to Sherard via his brother in the late 1690s.

In the dedication of the Op. 1 sonatas Sherard referred to his acquisition of books etc. as one of the grounds for dedicating the collection to Russell: '*Besides, my Lord, I beg leave to think they have some small title to your Grace's favour, since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first tast, and acquaintance with the Italian Musick*'. In this context one can understand why Sherard credited Russell as the source of his exposure to Italian music, but as Rose notes Sherard clearly already had access to a wide range of music in the 1680s. He has further revealed than Sherard's correspondence shows his own network of continental contacts and documents his own travels across the Channel, including a trip to the Netherlands in 1701 to supervise the printing of his Op. 1.³⁸

³⁶ See Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection'; Crum, 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Herttrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101; Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector'.

³⁷ See also *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection: Eight Works by Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, and Johann Kuhnau*, ed. S. Rose, Collegium Musicum Yale University, second series 20 (Madison WI, 2014).

³⁸ Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector'.



Illus. 1: James Sherard, *Sonate à Tré ... Opera Prima* (Amsterdam, [1701]), titlepage
(Author's copy and photograph)

To the most Noble Prince
WRIO THESLY Duke of BEDFORD
 Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russell, and Baron Russell
 of Thornhaugh, Baron Powland of Streatbam, Lord Lieutenant of the
 Counties of Bedford Cambridge and Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum for the
 said County of Middlesex, and the Liberty of Westminster.

MAY IT PLEASE Y^R GRACE.

THe prefixing your most Illustrious Name to the following SONATA'S will I fear bring me under the general
 censure of presumption, which I may more especially expect, from such as consider how unsuitable the means
 of these Compositions are to your Grace's admirable Skill, both in the Theory and Practice of Musick. I
 confess, my Lord, the charge will be very just; but since true Generosity accepts what is zealously offer'd tho'
 never so mean: I am encourag'd to hope your Grace will vouchsafe the same reception you was pleas'd to give
 them, when you did me the Honour to hear them perform'd.

Besides, my Lord I beg leave to think they have some small title to your Grace's favour, since by my Brother's
 attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first
 taste and acquaintance with the Italian Musick.

Your Grace will find indeed as great disparity betwixt that, and what is here offer'd you, as betwixt their
 fruits, and such as we raise from their Stocks, but I know your Grace will make allowances for the diffe-
 rence of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter; The most we can pretend to
 by our Performances, is only to revive an Idea of their Great Masters, and by our faint Copies, to put your
 Grace in mind of the excellent Originalls.

I will not pretend to excuse the faults of them, other wise than by letting the world know, they are the first Essays
 of one who is no profest Musitian, which consideration I hope will take off, at least, the edge of censure; I compos'd
 them at leisure hours, only to try how I could succeed in an attempt of this nature, and if they prove so fortunate
 as to contribute any thing to your Grace's diversion, I may with more assurance add this further presumptio,
 that your Grace will not only pardon the boldness of this enterprize, but the Honour I assume in subscrib-
 ing my self, with greatest deference, and Submission imaginable,

my Lord

Your Grace's

most Dutiful, and
 most Obedient Servant

JAMES SHERARD.

Illus. 2: James Sherard, *Sonate à Tré ... Opera Prima* (Amsterdam, [1701]), dedication
 (Author's copy and photograph)

Sherard's two collections of sonatas show him to have been a capable composer well versed in the fashionable Italian style, as suggested by the Italianised version of his name – 'Giacomo Sherard' – on the titlepages. As he noted in the dedication to his Op. 1, 'I know your Grace will make allowances for the difference of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter; The most we can pretend to by our Performances, is only to revive an Idea of their Great Masters, and by our faint Copies, to put your Grace in mind of the excellent Originalls'. Sherard's stylistic absorption evidently came from his

‘industry’ in careful study and development of his craft. Among the manuscripts in his hand is a copy of Corelli’s Op. 2, now GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.255, which he made as a young man, probably *c.*1686.³⁹ Of particular interest is Sherard’s musical commonplace book, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. A.641. It shows him scoring up sections of trio sonatas by a range of composers, apparently to learn elements of their style. Purcell and Corelli are represented alongside lesser-known Italian publications by Antonio Luigi Baldassini, Ippolito Boccaletti, and Giovanni Maria Ruggieri. In addition, there are passages signed ‘JS’. The manuscript was first discussed in Crum’s 1982 paper. Rose has since identified many of the parent pieces from which Sherard was working. He also identified three of the ‘JS’ extracts within Sherard’s own sonatas: Op. 2, no. 1/iv; Op. 2, no. 7/ii; Op. 1, no. 5/iv.⁴⁰ Ex. 1 and 2, below, show the two extracts from Op. 2 from A.641, and how they appear in the printed versions. We can see that the passages were largely unchanged except for embellishing surface elements (divisions and rhythm). Sherard arranged the excerpts in his commonplace book by key: g, G, a, A, b, B^b, c, C, d, D, e, F, E^b. Indeed, this is similar to the tonal arrangement of the sonatas in Sherard’s Op. 2, where they are grouped in parallel major-minor (or vice versa) pairs; the exception being the first two sonatas, in B^b major and B minor, respectively: Table 1.⁵⁰

(a)

(b) (Allegro)

Ex. 1: (a) Sherard, sketch in B^b major (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. A.641, f. 22v);
(b) Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 1, Allegro (1/iv), bb. 50–53.

³⁹ The paper type was available from *c.*1686, and Sherard signed his name as ‘Sharwood’, an early form of his surname; see R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 114.

⁴⁰ See Rose, ‘James Sherard as Music Collector’, 364–71, where Rose addresses his deliberate use of the term ‘sketch’.

(a)

(b) Allegro

5 4/2 6 6 6 4 4 9 8

7 6 6 7 6 5 4 6 4 6 9 6 7 6 5

Ex. 2: (a) Sherard, sketch in F major (GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. A.641, f. 30v);
 (b) Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 7, Allegro (7/ii), bb. 1–9.

Table 1: The Structure and Contents of James Sherard,
Sonate a Tre ... Opera Seconda (Amsterdam, [c.1715–16])

Sonata	Key	I	ii	Iii	Iv
1	B ^b major	Adagio	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro
2	B minor	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
3	C major	Largo	Allegro	Grave	Presto
4	C minor	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
5	D minor	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
6	D major	Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro
7	F major	Largo	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
8	F minor	Grave	Poco Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
9	G minor	Vivace	Allegro	Grave	Allegro
10	G major	Adagio e Staccato	Vivace	Adagio	Allegro
11	A minor	Presto	Allegro	Adagio	Vivace
12	A major	Adagio	Allegro	Adagio	Allegro

Writing several decades after Sherard's death, in his discussion of Corelli Hawkins recalled that 'an English-man, named James Sherard, an apothecary by profession, composed two operas of Sonatas, which an ordinary judge, not knowing that they were the work of another, might mistake for compositions of this great master'.⁴¹ Notwithstanding the mildly hyperbolic assessment of the quality of Sherard's sonatas, it is an accurate description of their style. By the turn of the eighteenth century the Corellian trio sonata had become a ubiquitous genre throughout Europe. In the early 1680s it seemed that English composers might foster an indigenous response to the wider trend, but Purcell's trio sonatas seem to have encouraged few followers. William Williams's sonatas (1700) show the influence of Purcell in many places, but he was dead within a year of the publication. I have argued elsewhere that English composers working in England were particularly drawn to the Corelli model, not simply because it was the dominant style but because it represented an accessible language that could be shared by their patrons.⁴² As a practical extension of this cultural and creative dialogue, it is worth noting that in most of the dedications of these trio sonatas the patrons are described as knowledgeable critics whose approval is sought as part of the compositional process, through performance. Beyond the deferential prose of printed dedications, GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252 allows us to glimpse how Sherard crafted his Op. 2 sonatas.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252

D.252 comprises four large upright quarto partbooks (measuring approximately 293 x 230mm), now bound as a single book in a nineteenth-century binding. Not counting the foliated pastedowns, there are 57 original folios, with two modern flyleaves and cardboard covers at both

⁴¹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii. 678.

⁴² Cunningham, "Faint copies" and "excellent Originalls".

ends: iii+60 (the rear flyleaves are also foliated). The pastedown on f. 3 is foliated as f. 4; the paper slip after f. 32 is foliated as f. 32a. Each partbook is a single quire with no evidence of excisions:⁴³

Violin 1: ff. 1–15v (ruled, unused pages: ff. 1, 11v–12, 14v–15v)

Violin 2: ff. 16–29v (ruled, unused pages: ff. 16, 25v–26, 28v–29v); headed, in pencil, ‘2nd Treble’ (f. 16)

Violoncello: ff. 30–43v (ruled, unused pages: ff. 30, 39v–40, 42v–43v)

Continuo: ff. 44 (ruled, unused pages: ff. 44, 53v–54, 56v–57v); headed ‘Sonate di Giacomo Sherard / Opera 2^{da}’ (f. 44)

There are no original bindings; to judge from their discoloration, the outer pages of the nested gatherings functioned as covers. Only the continuo partbook is contemporaneously titled in what appears to be the copyist’s hand using the Italianised version of Sherard’s forename as on the titlepages of his printed collections. The paper is good quality. The watermark is the Strasburg bend type, lettered LVG. This is ‘Bend II’, found in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Angoumois, Dutch and English documents: ‘paper of the largest standard size and always of high quality’.⁴⁴ Each page is ruled with red vertical guidelines on both sides. The twelve five-line staves were ruled with a four-stave rastrum.⁴⁵ The pages have four prick holes corresponding with the inner ruled margins; most pages also have a further two prick holes on the outer margins, approximately 85 mm apart.

Each of the sonatas was copied on a single opening, verso to recto, in the same order that they appear in the print. However, only eleven of the twelve published sonatas are included, numbered 1–9 and 11–12. Space was left for Sonata 10 to be copied: in each partbook the opening is unused and unnumbered between Sonatas 9 and 11. The fact that Sonata 10 was not transcribed by the copyist opens the possibility that the sonatas were not copied in numerical order; the ink colour of the initial copying layer is, however, broadly consistent through all four partbooks, suggesting that they were entered around the same time. The sonatas were transcribed by a professional copyist writing in a careful, formal hand; see Illus. 3. He was an unknown associate of Sherard, active since at least the 1680s, who also contributed to several manuscripts that may have come from Sherard’s library, including: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.249 (sole copyist; from Sherard’s collection); GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. E.400–403 (principal copyist); GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. C.78a–c (copied the final piece, Sonata 7); and J-Tn, MS N2/15 (one of two hands; copied nos. 19–40);⁴⁶ Rebecca Herissone designated the copyist as Anon H.⁴⁷ As Stephen Rose rightly

⁴³ The parts are untitled in D.252; the printed partbooks are labelled: ‘Violino Primo’, ‘Violino Secondo’, ‘Violoncello’ and ‘Basso Continuo’.

⁴⁴ *IMCCM*, i. 263.

⁴⁵ A 12; B 4; C 73; D 10.5(10.5)10.5(10)(11.5)10. I here use the format as given in *IMCCM*: Rastrology A = number of staves per page; B = number of staves in the rastrum; C = overall span of the rastrum; D = width of individual staves and (in parenthesis) the distance between them (rastrum profile can be inverted). All measurements given in millimetres, variations of up to a millimetre should be allowed.

⁴⁶ Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 114. They also cite GB-Och, Mus. 1141a and Mus. 1154, both guardbooks containing a number of hands; see *Christ Church Library, Music Catalogue*, comp. J. Milsom <@>. I have not been able to examine them to determine which pieces our copyist entered.

⁴⁷ See Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 82–3 (Table 2.5).

notes ‘there are substantial differences of clefs between the hands’ in some of these sources,⁴⁸ though arguably such discrepancies are outweighed by the similarities.

Most of Sherard’s sonatas as entered by the copyist in D.252 broadly correspond with the versions later printed. Some have obvious signs of revision in Sherard’s hand in the form of crossings-out, palimpsests, inserted paper slips and pastedowns. The versions of the sonatas in D.252 lack a number of details when compared to the printed parts. Tempi are often omitted; many of those that are given were added by Sherard. Dynamics too are sparse and given inconsistently; again Sherard added them in several places. In the print the continuo is more fully figured than in D.252, where 6/3 chords are often left unfigured as are thirds in chords (e.g. a 6/5/♭ chord in the print will be rendered as 6/5 in D.252). Figures denoting chromatic alterations are also typically not slashed in D.252 (e.g. the manuscript typically gives ‘6’ where the print correctly gives ‘♯’).⁴⁹ As Herissone notes, the omission of these sorts of details is not at all unusual; it is an expression of ‘the relatively imprecise nature of musical notation’.⁵⁰ However, given that the copyist seems to have worked closely with Sherard in compiling D.252, and the generally high levels of care evident in the copyist’s work, the omission of these details strongly suggests that they were lacking in the exemplar from which he worked. Perhaps these sorts of details were to be worked out in performance.

⁴⁸ Rose, ‘James Sherard as Music Collector’, 375.

⁴⁹ This seems not to support Rose’s suggestion that the copyist may have added the bass figuring; see Rose, ‘James Sherard as Music Collector’, 375.

⁵⁰ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 245.



Illus. 3: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, f. 7: Sonata 5/iii and 5/iv, violin 1.

Musical Creativity in Restoration England

In her pathbreaking monograph study of musical creativity in Restoration England, Herissone classified Restoration music manuscripts into six types based on practical functions: (1) 'Fowle originalls'; (2) 'Performance materials'; (3) 'Transmission manuscripts'; (4) 'File copies'; (5)

‘Presentation and collectors’ manuscripts’; and (6) ‘Pedagogical materials’.⁵¹ In doing so Herissone rightly challenged the appropriateness of terminology such as ‘sketch’, ‘rough draft’ and ‘fair copy’ to sources of the Restoration period, as this ‘implies a gradual creative process comprising several stages, each recorded in notation, and leading ultimately to a complete, finished product, neatly copied’.⁵²

Drawing on Harold Love’s work on literary manuscripts, Herissone goes on to explore what she terms ‘serial recomposition’, a concept that explains how Restoration composers tended to rework their music when they recopied it. This is particularly noticeable in liturgical music, but it can also be seen in consort music, the common thread being pieces that were ‘performed regularly and repeatedly’ and ‘disseminated widely via scribal communities’.⁵³ Along with the practice of ‘background variation’, where copyists would make small discretionary changes to the music they copied,⁵⁴ this results in different versions of works being in parallel circulation. Inter alia, Herissone uses Matthew Locke’s suites as a vivid illustration of how serial recomposition was often more extreme in consort music, noting that ‘composers’ revisions of their consort music include a number of common features, including structural reworkings affecting the content of sets and suites, and a tendency to focus on alterations to imitative material’.⁵⁵ Locke’s music provides an extreme example of this, but the characteristics are broadly applicable. With composers such as Purcell and Locke, while many sources are lost, a good number survive and their music was often widely transmitted in manuscript. Sherard’s Op. 2 naturally offers a different case with a much more limited range of evidence, and it also falls slightly outside Herissone’s *terminus ad quem* of 1705. But it does offer a case study for further exploring her arguments about creativity in the Restoration period, which may be instructive especially considering the lack of autograph sources for trio sonatas written by English composers.

For Sherard, and many of his contemporaries, we have no fowle originall, which Herissone describes thus:

a fowle originall comprised the composer’s first, original copy of a piece of music – an inelegantly written score which might bear evidence through alterations on the stave that decisions were still being made about the content of the composition as it was being copied, and which could show that aspects of the music were not yet complete when copying began (for example because space was initially left for material to be added in) but which nevertheless could be used by other scribes as an exemplar for producing performance parts and other scores.⁵⁶

Instead, for Sherard’s Op. 2 we have only performing materials, of which Herissone notes:

Performing materials are usually considered to be much less informative of creative activity than composers’ scores, and they can be problematic sources because they often

⁵¹ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, ch. 2.

⁵² Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 62. These ideas were first outlined in her paper ‘“Fowle Originalls” and “Fayre Writing”: Reconsidering Purcell’s Compositional Process’, *Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006), 569–619.

⁵³ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 261.

⁵⁴ The term ‘background variation’ was coined by Alan Howard in ‘Understanding Creativity’, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. R. Herissone (Farnham and Burlington VT, 2012), 65–113, at 97; see also Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*.

⁵⁵ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 313.

⁵⁶ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 70.

survive incomplete. However, for music that was suitable for repeated performance and that was transmitted widely among musicians performing parts can provide valuable details about ways in which pieces were revised and reworked over time.⁵⁷

There is no evidence to suggest that D.252 was used outside Sherard's private circle, but it does show that the sonatas were 'revised and reworked over time', and thus it offers valuable evidence for the creative – and recreative – process, from which we may infer something of Sherard's lost fowle originall. Herissone did not discuss D.252, but she listed it with ten other manuscripts in a table of 'Instrumental consort-music performing parts associated with ownership in private households'.⁵⁸ She notes that most of these sources 'seem to have been privately owned, often by individuals who were not professional musicians, but who clearly enjoyed playing consort music and must have had an extensive musical education'.⁵⁹

This is true of D.252, but it does not fully describe the manuscript's apparent function, in which the evidence of reworkings is actually consistent with Herissone's concept of 'serial recomposition' in relation to consort music. In this type stages of revision are often evident with new readings intended to supersede old ones, with composers often reworking whole sections while also taking care to revise and refine small details such as 'rhythmic patterns, melodic decoration and the register of individual notes and passages in the continuo parts'.⁶⁰ We shall return to these points in the conclusions, but for now suffice it to note that, with some qualification, these are all characteristics of D.252, which itself raises a further questions about the intended function of the manuscript and what can it tell us about how Sherard went about his compositional craft.

The Craft of Creativity

To consider these questions we must first navigate D.252. To do so we will divide the sonatas into three basic categories, based solely on levels of authorial intervention evident in the manuscript: (1) those with few or no signs of reworking; (2) those with minor reworkings; (3) those with significant reworkings, ranging from passages to whole movements being excised. However, this is only a first step as the printed version of the sonatas must also be considered. In some cases the manuscript and printed versions of the sonatas correspond closely, but in others they do not, regardless of obvious signs of reworkings in D.252.

The first two categories can be dealt with together. Sonatas 1, 5 and 8 show no significant signs of reworking, and notwithstanding occasional minor differences they appear in D.252 essentially as they do in the print. Evidence of minor reworkings is found in Sonatas 4, 9, 11 and 12; these take the form of amendments to individual bars or short passages. For instance, in Sonata 4 Sherard embellished b. 4 of the violin 1 and b. 5 of the violoncello parts from the opening Adagio (4/i), as

⁵⁷ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 79.

⁵⁸ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 82–3 (Table 2.5). In many ways D.252 shares more characteristics with the sources listed in Herissone's Table 2.6, 'Partbooks of instrumental consort music possibly associated with manuscript publication', of which she notes (ibid., 87–8): 'While shared copying does not in itself prove that the books were copied as part of a commercial operation, it is odd that the sets contain no signs of ownership, and that none were bound, instead being copied generally in nested bifolios, many of which are heavily discoloured, indicating that they were stored separately'.

⁵⁹ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 81.

⁶⁰ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 295.

can be seen in Ex. 3. These updates correspond with the printed version, though with the minim in b. 4 correctly rendered as a dotted crotchet.

Ex. 3: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 4, Adagio (4/i), bb. 1–5, violin 1 and violoncello only:
 (a) original reading in D.252; (b) Sherard's revised reading in D.252; (c) printed version.

Of the last three pieces in the manuscript, Sonatas 9, 11 and 12, only the last has obvious signs of reworkings in D.252. But the case is not as straightforward as this might suggest, as all three sonatas were significantly reworked by the time they were printed. These changes were not updated in D.252. In Sonata 9 the only emendations are found in the violins of the opening Vivace (9/i), where a single bar (b. 24) was amended in both parts. As the original readings were not scratched out the bars are difficult to read; the original readings are given in ossia staves in Example 4 (a). No other interventions were made; however, it is at precisely this point in the movement that the D.252 version diverges from the one in the print. The latter is 54 bars, six more than in D.252. But this was not achieved by the simple insertion of the bars. Instead, Sherard completely reworked the movement from b. 24 until the final four bars; see Ex. 4 (a) and (b). A good deal of the D.252 material was reused, very little went to waste. Sherard's focus was a revision of the melodic lines. Most of the material in the basses was retained, as was around half of the violin 2 material. Sherard exchanged the violin parts near the start of the reworked section (c.f. bb. 26–30 of D.252 and bb. 29–32 of the printed version) and prefaced them with another imitative statement of the thematic material a fifth lower (Ex. 4 (b), bb. 26–8).

(a) (Vivace) orig.: 



9 8 4 6 7 6 4 b 9 8 9 8 4

31



7 6 4 6 6 6 7 6 # 7 6 #

40



7 6 # 6 7 6 # 7 6 #

(b) (Vivace) 22



9 8 6 6 b b7 6

Ex. 4: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 9, Vivace (9/i), from b. 22: (a) version in D.252, with original readings for b. 24 given in ossia staves; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

The only obvious signs of revision in Sonata 11 are Sherard's added – often difficult to read – divisions to the violoncello line of the Allegro (11/ii). However, after completing these post-copying additions elsewhere, Sherard revised much of 11/ii. The printed version shows that he later reworked the movement, especially the violin parts, but also incorporating some of the bass divisions added post-copying to D.252. In the print 11/ii is a bar shorter than in D.252. Similar to 9a, the movement begins and ends largely the same in both sources, but the material between was reworked before being printed. However, the reworkings are more extensive in 11/ii than in 9/i, with more new material incorporated, but Sherard also retained blocks of material between both versions. As can be seen in Ex. 5, the two versions largely correspond up to b. 9, though the version in D.252 gives most of bb. 5–6 of violin 1 an octave lower. The motive is imitated a bar

(a) **Allegro**

[vc: orig. reading]

[vc: Sherard's revised version]

6 6 6 6

5

Sheet music for 'The Rose Tree' in G major, 3/4 time. The score is arranged for voice and piano. The piano part consists of four staves: two for the right hand and two for the left hand. The right hand part features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The music is divided into three measures. The first measure shows the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The second measure continues the melody and accompaniment. The third measure concludes the phrase. The piano part includes a bass line with notes and rests, and a treble line with notes and rests. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4.

24

6 6 6 2 9 6

28

7 5 4 6 6 6 2 6

32

6 4 6 6 6 6 4 6 5 6 4 6

36

5 5 5 5 5 9 6 5

40

4 6 # 9 7

44

5 # 9 8 6 9 8 7 5 6 5 #

(b) Allegro

Measures 1-3 of section (b) Allegro. The score is in 4/4 time. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The second staff (treble clef) is empty. The third staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. The fourth staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. Fingering numbers 6, 6, 6, and 6 # are indicated below the fourth staff.

Measures 4-7 of section (b) Allegro. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The second staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The third staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. The fourth staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. Fingering numbers 6 #, 6, #, 6, 6, #, 6, 6, #, 6, 6, #, 6, 6, 5, and # are indicated below the fourth staff.

Measures 8-11 of section (b) Allegro. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The second staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The third staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. The fourth staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. Fingering numbers 6, 6, 6, 9, 8, 4, 4, 6, 6, 6, 6, and 6 are indicated below the fourth staff.

Measures 12-15 of section (b) Allegro. The first staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The second staff (treble clef) contains a melody starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5. The third staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. The fourth staff (bass clef) contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G2, followed by eighth notes F2, E2, and D2. Fingering numbers 9, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, and 7 are indicated below the fourth staff.

16

5 4 5 4 6 4 6 4 6 4 6 4 6 4 6

20

4 5 6 7 6 6 9 6 7 5 6

24

6 6 # 6 9 6 7 5 #

28

6 6 6 6 # 6 5 6 5 6

32

5 8 5 6 5 6 # 6 5 5 5

36

5 5 5 4

40

6 # 6 6 # 6 9 6 7 5 # 6

44

9 8 # 6 9 8 7 5 # 6 5 #

Ex. 5: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 11, Allegro (11/ii): (a) version in D.252 incorporating Sherard's divisions in the violoncello, with original readings given in small type and highlights showing material retained in the printed version; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

The final sonata in D.252 has two-and-a-half bars heavily crossed out in each of the four parts at the end of the first Allegro (12/ii), though not all from the same starting point. The original readings are still visible beneath. The musical effect of the excision was to hasten the final cadence by removing a superfluous tonic-dominant progression. The excised bars were not included in the print; see Ex. 6 (c.f. Ex. 7).

1



Ex. 6: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (12/ii), original ending in D.252.

Boxed passages are heavily crossed out in the manuscript.

Sherard tinkered further with 12/ii, post-copying but also (elsewhere) before it was printed. In D.252 there are two palimpsests in the violin 1 part. In the first (the second half of b. 15) it is not possible to see what was originally copied; the revised reading corresponds to the printed version. However, a second revision (b. 17) did not find its way into the print, with Sherard evidently preferring his first thoughts. He also made some minor revisions in D.252 to the violoncello part at b. 10, though the continuo was not updated; in the print both bass parts give the same reading, following Sherard's revision of the violoncello in D.252. The most significant change made was to exchange the violins from b. 33 until the penultimate bar of the movement. The change did not affect the musical material, except for a small reworking of b. 33 to accommodate the swapping of parts; see Ex. 7.



37

9 6 7 6 # 7 5 4 6 6 5

42

7 6 # 7 5 4 3 6 9 6 7 6 # 6 6

(b) (Allegro)

31

6 6 6 6 4 6 4 9 6

35

6 # 6 # 6 9 6 7 6 #

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piece in D major, 12/ii time. The top system, starting at measure 39, shows a violin part with a melodic line and a piano accompaniment. The bottom system, starting at measure 43, shows a revised version of the same passage. Fingerings are indicated below the notes in both systems.

Ex. 7: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (12/ii), from b. 33:

(a) version in D.252 incorporating Sherard's reworkings; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

There were some minor reworkings made to the final movement (Allegro, 12/iv) in D.252. They all appear to have been made by the copyist, rather than by Sherard, though presumably he was working under the composer's direction. There were emendations made to the violin 2 part at bb. 19–23, which are unusually condensed in D.252, though it is not clear whether this was to correct a copying error or to accommodate a compositional reworking. The amendments made in the violoncello and continuo parts at bb. 32–36, however, do clearly suggest compositional reworkings. The violoncello line originally consisted of three crotchets in each bar, the first two leaping up a fourth: in the revision the middle crotchet was removed and replaced with a rest. The continuo originally seems to have played in unison with the violoncello in this passage but in the revision the first note of each bar was made into a minim to cover the effaced crotchet. These amendments correspond to the version given in the print; see Ex. 8.

31 (a)

(b)

Ex. 8: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 12, Allegro (12/iv), bb. 31 ending from b. 33–38,
violoncello and basso continuo only (continuo figures omitted):

(a) original version in D.252; (b) Sherard's revised version in D.252 and as printed in Op. 2.

The remaining sonatas in D.252 all contain obvious signs that Sherard reworked aspects of them (Sonatas 2 and 3) or planned to do so (Sonatas 6 and 7), though as with the previous sonatas the relationship between these versions and those in the print is not straightforward. In Sonata 6 the last two movements, Adagio (6/iii) and Allegro (6/iv), were crossed out with a large X in each of the parts; the original reading is not obstructed (Illus. 4). While no updated readings were entered into D.252, both movements were significantly changed by the time of the print. The D.252 versions of both movements begin similarly in terms of motivic ideas, but otherwise they are entirely different pieces rather than reworkings of material, as we have seen in other movements. The manuscript and printed versions are comparable in terms of length and follow similar tonal patterns. The Adagio (6/i) in both versions is in B minor. The D.252 version is in two sections (bb. 1–5, 6–18), both concluding with a Phrygian half cadence, whereas the printed version ends on B minor. In the Allegro (6/iv) Sherard retained the rhythm and the fourth leap of the main motive, but swapped the descending passing-note idea for a more driving repeated-note one. The structure of the fugal opening was retained with the entries coming from top to bottom at the distance of two bars, but the print shows a clearer tonal sense with the repeated note motive allowing easy alternation between tonic and dominant.

(a) Adagio

7

System 7: Treble and Bass staves with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The system contains six measures of music. Below the staves are the following fingering numbers: # 6, # 6 5 #, 6, 6 5, 7 7 7, 9 6 # 6.

13

System 13: Treble and Bass staves with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The system contains six measures of music. Below the staves are the following fingering numbers: 9 7 6, 9 # #, 5 #, 9 6 7 6, 7 6 #.

[Allegro]

System [Allegro]: Treble and Bass staves with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 3/4 time signature. The system contains six measures of music. Below the staves are the following fingering numbers: 6, 6 7 4 #, 6 7 # 6, 4/2.

8

System 8: Treble and Bass staves with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The system contains six measures of music. Below the staves are the following fingering numbers: 6/4 #, 9 6/8, 9 6/8.

15

System 15-22: This system contains measures 15 through 22. The music is in D major (two sharps). The right hand features a continuous eighth-note arpeggiated pattern. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with a mix of eighth and quarter notes. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 7, 5, 4, #) are indicated below the bass staff.

23

System 23-28: This system contains measures 23 through 28. The musical texture continues with the arpeggiated right hand and accompaniment left hand. Fingering numbers (#, #, 6, 5, 4, #, 9, 6, 8) are indicated below the bass staff.

29

System 29-35: This system contains measures 29 through 35. The pattern of eighth-note arpeggios in the right hand and accompaniment in the left hand is maintained. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 9, 6, 8, #, 6, 4, #, 9, 6, 8) are indicated below the bass staff.

36

System 36-42: This system contains measures 36 through 42. The musical structure remains consistent with the previous systems. Fingering numbers (9, 6, 8, 6, 5, 4, #, 6, 5, 4, #) are indicated below the bass staff.

43

6 5 # 6 4 #

50

6 6 4

[orig. as bc]

57

6 6 4 # 9 8 #

64

6 4 # 9 8 9 8 6 6 4 #

71

6 4 #

(b) Adagio

6 5 # 6 6 # 6 4 # 6 7 6 # 6 6 7 6

6

6 5 5 6 6 5 6 # 6 # # #

10

7 6 # # # # 6 7 6 # p # 7 6 # p

Allegro

6 7 # 6 6 5

8

4 6 6 6 6 7 6

15

7 6 7 6 7 6 # 7 6 4 # 6 6

22

6 5 6 6 6 6 # 5 4 #

29

5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6

36

6 6 6 6 6 6

43

6 4 6 6 6 6

50

5 6 5 6 6 6

57

64

70

Ex. 9: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 6, Adagio (6/iii) and Allegro (6/iv):
 (a) original versions in D.252, both crossed out; (b) versions printed in Op. 2.



Illus. 4: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, f. 22:
Sonata 6: original versions of 6/iii and 6/iv, violin 2.

Sonata 7 also has a large X crossing out the final movement Vivace (7/iv) in each of the parts, with no updated reading incorporated. The printed version is completely different. With the

exception that both are fast fugal-style finales in the tonic (F major), the two versions bear no obvious relationship to one another. The D.252 version comprises 94 bars of 3/4, while the printed version is a leaner and more focussed 70 bars of 6/8; see Ex. 10. In D.252 the violin 1 part for 7/iv also includes a pastedown, though it seems to have been the correction of a copying error. The penultimate stave of the last movement (f. 9) has been entirely overwritten. The pastedown, in the hand of the copyist, has been glued evenly across and cannot be lifted; there are no similar instances in any of the other parts. Another copying error is found in violin 1 of the Adagio (7/iii) where in a rare case of haplography the copyist duplicated b. 7, with the erroneous repetition then effaced.

(a) [Vivace]

1 9 16 [sic]

24

System 1 (measures 24-30) features a piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The melody enters in measure 24 with a series of eighth notes. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

31

System 2 (measures 31-38) continues the piano accompaniment. The right hand has a consistent eighth-note accompaniment, while the left hand provides harmonic support with quarter and eighth notes. The melody is active in the right hand, featuring various intervals and slurs.

39

System 3 (measures 39-46) shows a continuation of the piano accompaniment. The right hand maintains the eighth-note pattern, and the left hand has a steady bass line. The melody in the right hand includes slurs and ties across measures.

47

System 4 (measures 47-54) concludes the piano accompaniment section. The right hand has a more complex melody with slurs and ties, while the left hand continues with a steady bass line. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

54

6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 6 5 4 3

61

[sic]

9 8 9 8 9 8 6 5

69

6 4 6 6 5 6 6

76

6 6 6 6 5

83

6 5

89

6 5

(b) **Vivace**

6/5 6 5 4 6 6 7 6 7 6 7 6

7

7 6 5 4 6 7 6 5 6 7 7

13

This musical score continues from measure 12. It consists of six measures, each with four staves. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. The key signature remains one flat (B-flat). The bottom of the page features a sequence of numbers: 7, 7, 7, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 4, 3, 6, which likely correspond to specific musical elements or fingerings.

19

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

p *p* *p* *p*

25

This musical score segment contains measures 25 through 30. It features four staves: two treble staves and two bass staves. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). Measure 25 begins with a treble staff containing a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff contains a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 26 introduces a forte dynamic (f) and a 5/4 time signature. The treble staff has a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 27 continues with a treble staff half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 28 features a treble staff half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 29 has a treble staff half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2. Measure 30 concludes with a treble staff half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The bass staff has a half note G2, a quarter note A2, and a quarter note B2.

31

Measures 31-37 of the musical score for 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written for four staves: Treble 1, Treble 2, Bass 1, and Bass 2. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 6/8. The melody is primarily in the Treble 1 staff. The bass parts provide harmonic support. Measure numbers 31 through 37 are indicated below the staves.

38

6 5 # 6 5 4 2 6 7 # 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 7

44

6 5 6 p 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 7 6 5 f 5

49

4 2 6 6 5 6 7 7 7

54

7 7 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 5 4 6



Ex. 10: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 7, Vivace (7/iv):
 (a) original version in D.252, crossed out; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

While movements from Sonatas 6 and 7 were obviously scheduled for revision which took place before the sonatas were printed, though for whatever reason D.252 was not updated. A similar case occurs with Sonatas 2 and 3, though in both only sections of movements were reworked, with the updated readings overlain in pastedowns. In Sonata 3 Sherard reworked three of the four movements, particularly the Allegro (3/ii) and the Presto (3/iv). The reworking of the opening movement, Largo (3/i), was minor: originally the two basses played the same line in the first bar, with Sherard later introducing the dotted pattern in the violoncello to match with the violins, a change retained into the printed version; see Ex. 11.



Ex. 11: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Largo (3/i), opening bars showing Sherard's revised version.

In Sonata 3/ii the reworkings are mostly confined to the violins between bb. 21–34. The stepwise descending four-note semiquaver idea exchanged imitatively was originally used more extensively. In D.252 several of these motives the middle two (passing) notes were effaced leaving only the descending fourth figure (boxed in Ex. 12a). As can be seen from Ex. 12, these changes were reflected in the printed version.

(a) (Allegro)

21

26

31

6 # # 6 # 7 5 # # # 6 # # 6 6 7 5 # 5 # # # 4

5 # 6 7 6 # # 6 # # 6 #

21 (b) (Allegro)

26

31

Ex. 12: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Allegro (3/ii), bb. 21–34:

- (a) original version in D.252, with motives revised by Sherard boxed;
- (b) version printed in Op. 2, largely reflecting reworkings in D.252.

The end of the movement was also reworked, though by the time of the print Sherard abandoned some of these revisions in favour of his first thoughts. In the version of Sonata 3/ii entered in D.252 by the copyist, the final cadence was shorter, lacking the penultimate bar when compared to the printed version. By scratching out the original reading and writing in over it the revised one, Sherard reworked the cadence to include this bar, and in the process excised b. 57 of violin 1, but only the second half of the same bar in violin 2 by heavily crossing them out. He clearly changed his mind as he was crossing out the bar in violin 2. No excisions were made in the basses, though emendations were made to the violoncello part. The reworkings are difficult to read in places. To clarify his intentions Sherard provided paper slips for the two violins and for the violoncello, the latter now foliated as f. 32a; see Illus. 5. The readings given on the inserted paper slips correspond with those later printed. By contrast, the melodic idea found in b. 8 of violin 1 and repeated in b.

44 of violin 2 in D.252 did not find its way into the printed version. As Ex. 13 shows, the printed version incorporates the expanded cadence, but not the divisions in the violoncello added in the first layer of revision.

56 (a) (Allegro)

[vc + bc]

6 6 5/3

(b)

[vc] [vc + bc]

[bc] 6 5 6 6 6 5/3 5/3

(c)

[vc only]

(d)

f *f*

[vc + bc]

f 6 6 5/3 6 5/3 5/3

Ex. 13: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Allegro (3/ii), ending:

- (a) original version in D.252, with heavily crossed-out bars boxed; (b) Sherard's first revisions in D.252; (c) Sherard's revisions on paper slips (none for bc); (d) version printed in Op. 2.



Illus. 5: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, ff. 32a, 33 (Sonata 3/iv, violoncello): the pastedown and paper slip are in Sherard's hand, as are the revisions made to the middle staves on the page.

The paper slip provides the revised end to 3/iii on f. 32v.

Sherard also had further thoughts about the final movement, Presto (3/iv). Post-copying, he reworked the first strain by expanding four of the bars, creating an additional two bars, effectively strengthening the cadential progressions (in doing so he seems to have written over the sharps in violin 1, at bb. 10 and 12). But as we have seen elsewhere, by the time of the printed version Sherard reverted to his first ideas, omitting the material added to D.252. The affected bars are boxed in Ex. 14.

(a) Presto

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Presto' in 3/4 time. It consists of 14 measures. The first strain (measures 1-6) is followed by a second strain (measures 7-12), and then a third strain (measures 13-14). The second strain contains two measures (10 and 12) that are boxed, indicating they were added or revised. The third strain also contains two measures (13 and 14) that are boxed. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

8^(b) Presto

13

Ex. 14: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Presto (3/iv), first strain:

(a) Sherard's revised version D.252; (b) version printed in Op. 2.

Boxed bars indicate Sherard's expansion in D.252, not retained in the print.

Sherard also significantly reworked the second strain of the same movement (3/iv). Originally in D.252 the violoncello doubled the continuo throughout, but in bb. 24–29 Sherard expanded the repeated note (dotted-crotchet, quaver) idea in the second half of each bar by adding divisions in the violoncello, an idea that was retained in the printed version. The end of the movement was more substantially reworked. In all four partbooks there are pastedowns in Sherard's hand covering the last three staves of the pages, the last dozen or so bars. The version given in the pastedowns corresponds to the reading in the printed version. Though they have not been lifted, the pastedowns were only glued at each side, which allows us to see what lies beneath; the pastedowns in the violoncello and continuo partbooks have been sliced on the righthand side, so that they open. The original layer entered by the copyist was also revised, though these emendations appear to have been made by the copyist, rather than by Sherard.

The differences between the version entered by the copyist and the revised version on the pastedown are not substantial, best thought of as refinements to details rather than a wholesale reworking as we have seen elsewhere. The first version (under the pastedown) is two and a half bars shorter than the revised version; see Ex. 15. In the initial version the sequentially repeated quaver idea of beginning at b. 48 had a lower neighbour note on the third quaver rather than the skip of a third. It is difficult to tell, but these seem to have been corrected by the copyist; the version under the pastedown also has this correction as well as other emendations in the violin 2 part; the pastedown includes the same melodic figure though there they are only given with the skipping thirds. If the changes were made by the copyist, it reinforces the fact that he worked

closely and collaboratively with Sherard. It also strongly suggests that the revisions took place in stages. In the version beneath the pastedown, the basses were originally a bar shorter; this was added into both parts, though the result is still a minim out. In the reworked version (on the pastedowns) Sherard replaced the dotted-minim, crotchet rhythm in the basses with minim, crotchet-rest, crotchet; this mostly affected the violoncello, as the continuo already had this rhythm from b. 56. Sherard's pastedown revisions also includes some reworkings, crossed out though still visible. In the pastedowns on all four parts, he included a further repetition of the four-quaver arpeggiated idea, though on reflection he considered this superfluous and excised them; see, for example, Illus. 9, below, which shows the violin 1 part.

(a)

47 (Presto)

53

60

(b)
52 (Presto)

59

Ex. 15: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Presto (3/iv), second strain, ending:

(a) version in D.252 beneath the pastedowns, from b. 47, editorial notes in small type;

(b) version printed in Op. 2, from b. 52.

A further, abandoned, reworking of the second strain of 3/iv also appears to have taken place. This can be seen on the reverse side of Sherard's pastedown on f. 19, covering the end of the movement. The irregular shape of the pastedown (cut to cover the end of one staff and the two staves below in full) means that several bars were cut out on the reverse side. Comparing the reading with that above and with the printed version, we can see that, while all three are versions of the same melody, the discarded version on the reverse side of the pastedown matches neither of the other two. It does, however, correspond more closely to the printed version than to the original version in D.252; see Ex 16. This suggests that yet another version of at least this strain existed in a lost score.

Ex. 16: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 3, Presto (3/iv), violin 1, ending: comparison of printed version, D.252 original version, and a discarded version on the reverse side of the paper slip to f. 19.

Finally, we come to Sonata 2, which seems to have been quite problematic for Sherard. All four movements were revised in some way. He updated several passages in the opening Adagio (2/i) and at the end of the Vivace (2/iv). The inner movements (2/ii and 2/iii) also contain reworkings, but less substantive than in the outer ones, so we will deal with them first. In the inner movements Sherard reworked some of the registers of the bass parts. Both basses in the opening five-and-a-half bars of the Adagio (2/iii) are given an octave lower in D.252 than in the print, with the instruction in Sherard's hand 'above 8 notes higher' in the violoncello part and 'above' in the continuo; see Illus. 6. Similar changes were made to the first strain of the Allegro (2/ii). From bb. 5–8 the upper register notes of the continuo part were originally written an octave below, but were revised by scratching out the original reading and writing over it. By b. 9 the original line is all in the same (lower) register, so Sherard was able to simply write the instruction 'above', which was presumably intended to last until the end of b. 11, corresponding with the print; see Illus. 6. The

repeated note dotted-crotchet, quaver figures in the violoncello part at bars 8, 10, 13 (first beat) and 14 were revised by Sherard in D.252 (retained in the print) to match the leaping octave-quaver idea of b. 9. Ahead of the print, Sherard also revised the violin 2 part as given in D.252. In the manuscript bb. 5–8 show that Sherard's first version had rests and crotchets instead of the repeated quavers of the printed version; see Ex. 17 (a) and (b). In the same passage in D.252 the ties were also omitted in what became the 6-5 suspensions; this may have been an oversight, but it is the sort of detail that appears to have been lacking from the exemplar from which the copyist worked.

(a) **Allegro**

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piece marked 'Allegro'. Each system consists of four staves: two treble staves (Violin 1 and Violin 2) and two bass staves (Viola and Violoncello). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 on the upper staves and 5-7 on the lower staves. Accidentals (sharps and naturals) are present throughout the score. The first system covers measures 1-6, the second system covers measures 7-11, and the third system covers measures 12-15. The notation includes various note values, rests, and ties, with specific fingerings and accidentals noted for each measure.

(b)
5 (Allegro)

6 6 6 5 6 6 6 5 6 6 6 5 6 7 6 7 6

Ex. 17: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2/ii), first strain:

(a) version as first entered by the copyist in D.252; (b) bb. 5–9 of the printed version.



Illus. 6: GB-Ob, MS Mus.Sch.D.252, f. 45v:
 Sonata 2/i, 2/ii and the opening of 2/iii, basso continuo.
 The revisions and the instructions 'above' are in Sherard's hand.



Illus. 7: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, f. 2v:
Sonata 2/i, 2/ii and the opening of 2/iii, violin 1. The pastedown is in Sherard's hand.



Illus. 8: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, f. 17v:

Sonata 2/i, 2/ii and the opening of 2/iii, violin 2.

The revisions to the third stave are in Sherard's hand; the red marks are glue remnants.

Of the two movements containing substantive revisions, the Vivace (2/iv) is the most straightforward. There are pastedowns in Sherard's hand covering the final three staves in both

violins; unlike the similarly extensive pastedowns in Sonata 3, these contain no crossings-out.⁶¹ These pastedowns were also glued at the sides, so again it is possible to see what lies beneath (there is no writing on the reverse sides of these pastedowns). Sherard's reworked version largely corresponds with that given in the print. When compared to the first version, the main difference is the exchange of the violin parts for 14 bars from the mid-point of b. 42. In the process of reworking the melodic lines Sherard also slightly expanded them, adding a further two bars. The melodic material is the same in each instance and is derivative of the surrounding bars. The harmony remained unchanged, however, so while the reworkings necessitated pastedowns in the violin books, the violoncello and continuo parts were simply amended to include the additional bars: the added bars are shaded in Ex. 18.

38 (Vivace)

43

⁶¹ The pastedown in the violin 1 book has been designated f. 4, while the counterpart in violin 2 was not separately foliated.



Ex. 18: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2/iv), ending as given in the print.

Boxed sections are not given in the original version in D.252, beneath the pastedown.

While the reworkings in 2/iv are straightforward, the case is less clear in the opening movement of the sonata. In the Adagio (2/i) there is a pastedown in Sherard's hand covering the first half of the third stave in the violin 1 book (Illus. 7), though there are no corresponding changes in the other parts. As suggested by the largely unaltered bass books, again the main purpose of the reworkings was melodic rather than harmonic – somewhat of a feature of Sherard's reworkings. Some of the original readings can still be made out under the pastedown, which is essentially a simplified version of that on the pastedown for b. 11 and the first half of b. 12. The pastedown itself shows some of Sherard's thought process, with the original reading of the second bar scratched out and a revised reading written over it. What is visible of the reverse side shows an unidentified passage in B minor; see Ex. 19.



Ex. 19: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, pastedown on Allegro (2/i), violin 1, bb. 11–12:

(a) original reading beneath the pastedown; (b) reverse side of the pastedown.

Although the reading on the pastedown corresponds to that in the printed version for b. 11, in the print Sherard reworked bb. 12 and 13 to exchange the violin parts; see Ex. 20. Indeed, it seems that originally a larger pastedown was intended. This is suggested by the red smudge at the end of the third stave, a remnant of the glue Sherard used for the pastedowns and paper slips (as can be seen in other places in the manuscript). Indeed, we find the same glue remnants at the same point in violin 2 (i.e. f. 17v, stave 3) (Illus. 8), suggesting that there was once a pastedown at this point too. An original reading for these bars was also scratched out and written over, corresponding to bb. 11–13; the original reading is only partly legible. We might only speculate whether the excised pastedowns contained new material, with Sherard reverting to his original ideas, or whether they reflected the exchanged violin parts.

(a) **Adagio**

The musical score is for a piece titled "Adagio". It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system covers measures 5 to 10, and the second system covers measures 11 to 16. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. Below the staves, there are fingerings and bowings indicated by numbers and symbols.

Measure 5: 5 6 # 6 5 #

Measure 6: 6 7 6 7 6 #

Measure 11: 5 6 # 6 5 #

Measure 12: 9 6 4 3 6 5

10

14

(b)

10

[Conjectural reading:
pastedown can't be lifted]

(c)

10

Ex. 20: Sherard, Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2/i):

(a) Sherard's revised version in D.252; (b) original version entered by copyist in D.252, bb. 10–14 (conjectural notes in small type); (c) bb. 10–14 from the printed version.

The case is made yet more intriguing by an examination of the reverse sides of the rest of the pastedowns and paper slips in D.252. As we shall see, there are several excerpts of versions of this exact passage of the violin 1 part of 2/i, which can be recovered either in whole or part. The evidence suggests that this passage in particular gave Sherard pause for thought. He made several attempts to rework it in D.252 and ultimately reworked it separately ahead of the print. For ease of reference all of these readings are in Ex. 21: it compares the printed parts with the readings in D.252, both the initial layer by the copyist and the ‘final’ layer incorporating Sherard’s revisions. In the example the paper slips and pastedowns are numbered 1–4 and are referred to in the discussion below as ‘insert (1)’ etc.

The single short leaf (in Sherard’s hand), now pasted in between ff. 4v and 5, shows the first four-and-a-half bars of the violin 1 from 2/i: insert (1) of Ex. 21. As this is given in the page opening for Sonata 3, at first glance the inserted slip appears to be misplaced. This is not, however, the case. It was pasted in the wrong way around. What is now the reverse side should be facing out, which has the revised reading of the end of the Allegro movement from Sonata 3 (3/i); corresponding paper slips are found in the violin 2 and violoncello parts (see above). The slip is headed ‘Sonate 2^{da}’ and interestingly gives the same reading as that entered by the copyist (Illus. 9; cf. the first stave of f. 2v, shown in Illus. 8). There are only two differences. First, Sherard’s paper slip omits the tie from bb. 1–2, though this could easily have been cut off as the top of the paper seems to have been crudely torn, also cutting off the top of some of the title. Second, a slur has been added to the semiquavers in b. 6, which is not in the D.252 version on f. 2v but is in the printed version.

As discussed previously, the reworked ending to 3/iv is given by a pastedown in Sherard’s hand. Covering two whole staves, it is glued at both margins and the reverse side can mostly be seen: insert (2) of Ex. 21. On the reverse is another excerpt in (Sherard’s hand) from the violin 1 part from 2/i. The reading gives from the second half of b. 6 through to the end of the movement, though there are also two large Xs crossing it out, indicating that it was to be discarded, though visible. There are again signs of reworking. The first half of b. 11 is heavily crossed out and the original reading obscured, with no updated reading given. The original readings of the end of the same bar and also the end of b. 13 were scratched out and new readings written over them: the original readings are shown in small font in Ex. 21. It seems not to be coincidence that halfway through b. 6 is also the start of stave 2 of f. 2v, and it is also where the paper slip headed ‘Sonate 2^{da}’ (discussed above) ended. It is possible that this pastedown was originally glued (or intended to be glued) onto staves 2 and 3 of f. 2v (where there are glue remnants), though it would not have covered the end of the movement at the start of the fourth stave.

On the reverse side of the pastedown on f. 19 (i.e. Sonata 3, violin 2) is another excerpt from the same passage in 2/i, violin 1, in Sherard’s hand; it gives roughly the last crotchet beat of b. 8 to the end of b. 11 but again with variants not found elsewhere: insert (3) of Ex. 21. Sherard crossed out the material on b. 11, though it is still visible. Yet another extract from 2/i can be recovered from the paper slip added to the bass part of Sonata 3 (f. 32a): insert (4) of Ex. 21. Its reverse side contains the last seven bars of the violin 1 part from Sonata 2 (2/i). The layout of the bars is

interesting. The inserted slip comprises three staves: bb. 13–17 of 2/i were written on the first stave, with bb. 11–12 added below towards the end of the second stave and headed with a '+' (the common sign for an insert). It is presumably not coincidence that the paper slip to f. 19 also contains the same + sign above b. 11. The rear side of Sherard's pastedown on f. 5 (Sonata 3, violin 1) also has music in his hand, crossed out. The glue is still on both sides and it is difficult to see all of what lies beneath. The passage is again from 2/i, from the second half of b. 6 through to the end of the movement; it begins midway through the bar, as it does in D.252 (c.f. f. 2v, stave 2); it picks up from the end of the paper slip to f. 5. On the pastedown bb. 11 and 13 are heavily crossed out and revised and are particularly hard to read. What seems to emerge from comparison of these paper slips is Sherard's working out of the melodic line, especially around b. 11. The results were not entirely satisfactory, with Sherard reworking this section again ahead of the print.

The fragmentary nature of the paper slips used by Sherard make it difficult to determine whether any of them came from the same source. However, they are generally similar, and are certainly different (thinner and poorer in quality) to the paper used in D.252. The stave sizes suggest that there were at least five different papers used, as indicated in the last column of Table 2. In summary, it seems that the same paper was used for the following: (1) pastedowns on ff. 4, 5, 19; (2) pastedowns on ff. 33, 47; (3) paper slips on ff. 5, 19, 32a, and the pastedown on f. 2v; (4) pastedown on f. 18; (5) copyist pastedown on f. 9. While it is possible that Sherard used whatever papers he had to hand, this distribution of paper types reinforces the suggestion that the revisions took place in stages.

The image displays a musical score for Violin 1, measures 1 through 9. It compares five different versions of the notation:

- Print (Vn 1):** The top staff, showing the final printed version with measures 1-9.
- D.252 'final':** The second staff, showing the notation from D.252, which matches the print.
- D.252 Copyist:** The third staff, showing the notation from the D.252 copyist, which also matches the print.
- (1) Paper slip to f.5 (reverse, but facing out):** The fourth staff, showing a paper slip with the notation for measures 1-9. It is labeled 'Sona 2da'.
- (2) Pastedown on f.5 (reverse); all crossed-through:** The fifth staff, showing a paper slip with the notation for measures 1-9. It is heavily crossed out with diagonal lines.

The notation is in G major (one sharp) and common time. Measures 1-9 are shown. The paper slips show the original notation with revisions and crossings out.

10 11 12 13 Etc.

Print (Vn 1)

Print (Vn 2)

D.252 'final' Pastedown

D.252 Copyist Beneath pastedown Not visible

(4) Paper slip f.32a (reverse) + Stave 2 Stave 1

(2) Pastedown on f.5 (reverse); all crossed-through Crossed-out

(3) Paper slip to f.19 (reverse) + Crossed-through

14 15 16 17

Print (Vn 2) *p*

D.252 'final' *p*

D.252 Copyist

(4) Paper slip f.32a (reverse)

(2) Pastedown on f.5 (reverse); all crossed-through *

Ex. 21: Comparison of versions of violin 1 from Op. 2, Sonata 2, Allegro (2/i), recovered from paper slips. The original readings are given in small type.



Illus. 9: GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. D.252, f. 5: Sonata 3: 3/iii and 3/iv, violin 1. The revisions to staves 2, 3 and 4 are in Sherard's hand, as are the pastedown and paper slip; the latter was pasted-in the wrong way around, and shows the opening of 2/i, violin 1.

Table 2. Summary of paper slips and pastedowns used in D.252

Location	No. of visible staves	Stave profile (mm)	Paper width (mm) *	Scribe	Contents: (a) facing side; (b) reverse side	Paper type
<i>Violin 1 partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f. 2v	1	11	---	Sherard	(a) Reworking of 2/iv, bb. 11–13; (b) Unidentified treble passage in B minor.	A
f. 4 (Pastedown on f. 3)	3	12(11)12(13)12	205	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 2/iv; (b) Ruled but unused.	B
Pastedown on f. 5	2	12(13)12	204	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 3/iv; (b) 2/i, vn1 ending.	B
Paper slip insert to f. 5	1	11	---	Sherard	(a) 2/i, vn1 opening; (b) Reworked ending to 3/ii, pasted in the wrong way round.	A
Pastedown on f. 9	1	10	218 ‡	Anon H	(a) Copyist error correction?; (b) Not visible.	C
<i>Violin 2 partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f. 18	3	12.5(15)12(11)11.5	207	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 2/iv; (b) Ruled but unused.	D
Pastedown on f. 19	3	12(13)12(11)12	205	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 3/iv; (b) 3/iv, vn1 ending.	B
Paper slip insert to f. 19	1	10.5	---	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 3/iv; (b) 2/i, vn1 opening excerpt.	A
<i>Violoncello partbook</i>						
Paper slip insert: f. 32a	3 (& partial fourth)	10.5(12)10(12.5)11(10.5)	206	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 3/ii; (b) 2/i, vn1 ending.	A
Pastedown on f. 33	2	11.5(12)12	c.206 (torn)	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 2/iv; (b) Ruled but unused.	E
<i>Basso Continuo partbook</i>						
Pastedown on f. 47	2	11.5(12)12	c.206 (torn)	Sherard	(a) Reworked ending to 3/iv; (b) Ruled but unused.	E

* The width of the paper is given only where the paper slip has complete staves (in terms of width); the measurements are approximate given the rough edges on one side in each case.

‡ In this case the measurement is the total length of the paper. It is not clear whether the outer edge has been cut to make it more flush with the paper in D.252: there is a red ruled vertical guideline on both sides. While the stave size is comparable to those in D.252, the length of the stave is approx. 13 mm longer than the staves on the same page of D.252 indicating that it came from a different paper source.

What's 'New'?

Four of the sonatas (Sonatas 1, 2, 3 and 6) in D.252 have the rubric 'New' written at the top of the recto leaf in the opening, near the lefthand margin; for example, see Illus. 4. In her 1982 paper Crum simply drew reference to it, though the Revised descriptions notes that 'sections were crossed out and marked "New", indicating that the passage had been rewritten', thus making an explicit connection between the rubric and the reworkings. The rubrics appear to be in Sherard's hand. They were written in the same ink as several of the tempi (e.g., Sonata 5, violin 1, where the first 'Adagio', the 'Allegro' and the 'vivace' were written by Sherard; the two 'Adagio' markings on f. 7 were written by the copyist). The obvious inference – as made in the Revised Descriptions – is that it 'New' referred to the revisions evident in D.252. But if so, the rubric was not consistently applied. Sonata 1 was labelled as 'New' though it was not revised in the manuscript, nor was it reworked ahead of the print. Contrariwise, the final movement of Sonata 7 was crossed out and replaced with a new movement in the print, though it was not labelled as 'New'. In the three other sonatas labelled 'New', some form of reworkings did take place, either in the manuscript or between it and the print. The differences between the versions in D.252 and the print suggest that Sonatas 2, 3 and 6 would have needed a 'new' score (or parts) to have been written out for at least some movements, to incorporate the exchange of violin parts and newly written movements. But this is equally true of Sonatas 7, 9, 11 and 12 where no 'new' instruction was given.

Stephen Rose has suggested that D.252 was 'prepared from [Sherard's] working score, possibly with the copyist adding the bass figuring, and then Sherard made the corrections before the sonatas were performed and a final version produced as a printer's copy-text'.⁶² The lack of details such as tempi and dynamics, as described above, do suggest that Anon H was working from Sherard's fowlle originall. However, a striking feature of D.252 is that the sonatas are remarkably well laid out, with each occupying no more than a single opening (as in the print), so much so that the copyist could confidently leave an opening for Sonata 10 to be copied. Moreover, more than half the sonatas use up most, if not all, of the staves on each opening, especially in the violin parts. For example, in transcribing the first violin part for Sonatas 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 11, the copyist used all 24 staves in full, writing either to the margin of the last stave or leaving only a small space; for example, see Illus. 3, 4 and 5, above. In each sonata the bars are carefully and evenly laid out. Of course, the copyist was a professional, but this level of precision would have been difficult working from a score, and especially so if he was working from Sherard's fowlle originall.⁴⁹ It seems an uncommon effort to be made considering the way in which the sonatas were subsequently revised only for the manuscript to be abandoned.

The careful layout of the manuscript suggests that when Anon H was commissioned to transcribe the sonatas Sherard considered them to be finished, at least to that point. Indeed in many ways D.252 has the appearance of the sort of copy that would be made for a printer from which to prepare an engraving. Perhaps it was initially intended for this purpose. However, it is intriguing that Anon H copied out all but one of the sonatas, suggesting perhaps that Sonata 10 was not yet complete or ready in the exemplar. Even so, post-copying Sherard dedicated himself next, not to completing the collection, but to reworking many of the sonatas, some significantly. We have seen how involved this process was from the above examples, often including changes of small details.

⁶² Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 375

However, many performance details (tempi, dynamics, continuo figures) were left incomplete, suggesting that they had not yet been fully worked out. It seems also that the process of revision became increasingly unwieldy, and that preserving the fine presentation of the initial copying layer became a decreasing priority as Sherard realized that the reworkings were becoming extensive. The pastedowns for Sonata 2 are nicely cut, fitting neatly across the page and written in a careful hand. Those for Sonata 3 are again quite neatly presented, though with crossed-out sections. However, the paper slips inserted to clarify the end of 3/ii are rougher in appearance with torn edges and are not as effective as the pastedowns; indeed, they give the impression of clarifying readings for recopying rather than performance. In Sonatas 2 and 3 Sherard was able to cover his reworkings with these inserts covering two or three staves, but in Sonatas 7 and 8 he made no effort to do so, instead drawing a large X through the movements to be discarded or reworked; the sections of Sonatas 2 and 3 covered by the pastedowns were not crossed out. Obviously, these revisions (and others) took place, though D.252 was not updated. A new copy was needed and must have been generated.

Throughout this essay I have deliberately described the changes in D.252 in terms of a process of compositional development, rather than seeing the existence of the earlier versions and those in the printed Op. 2 as parallel versions in circulation. As Herissone has demonstrated, early Restoration composers such as Locke and Hingeston similarly reworked their instrumental consort music with the new readings intended to replace the old ones, but they also seemed happy for parallel versions to exist. There is no evidence to suggest that Sherard had D.252 made for transmission, nor does it seem to have been commissioned for simple enjoyment. If it was prepared for manuscript dissemination it does not seem to have fulfilled its function. In the first instance it is incomplete. No other manuscript copies are known, which is not of course evidence, but it is suggestive. It is noticeable that some of Sherard's paper slips are untidy and are thus visually dissonant when compared to the elegant copying of Anon H. Taking the violin 1 book as an example, we note that Sherard's pastedown covering the final movement of Sonata 2 is neatly written; the paper slip itself, which nearly matches the page width, has been neatly cut. The pastedown covering the end of Sonata 3 is similar, but presumably after pasting it in Sherard heavily crossed out several half-bars. By contrast, the paper slip added to the margin of the same opening has been torn rather than cut. When Sherard came to Sonatas 6 and 7 no effort was made to provide the updated readings indicated by the crossed-out movements. It seems to imply that the pieces were worked and revised on in numerical order.

The impression one gets is that the updating of D.252 happened piecemeal.⁶³ After the parts had been copied Sherard added some details regarding tempi and dynamics, but also reworked small details of rhythm as well as entire movements. Most of these reworkings were done by scratching out readings and writing over them or by adding paper slips, either pasted into the margin or pasted down onto the pages, suggesting that the new readings were intended to supersede the old ones. Many of the revised readings were reflected in the printed versions, but clearly Sherard serially recomposed several sonatas between abandoning D.252 and submitting the sonatas to Roger. We must remember that Sherard was not a professional composer, and hearing his work was likely to have been a necessary part of the compositional process. The evidence suggests that D.252 was

⁶³ Herissone lists this first of six characteristics she identified in the complex revisions of Locke's consort music; see Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 282–3.

commissioned to enable Sherard to work out the finer details of the sonatas ahead of publication. It was a private document not intended for wider circulation, but instead for publication. The proof of the sonatas was in the performance, however, and they required a good deal of reworking and tinkering. It also seems that Sherard gradually considered the project of updating D.252 not to be worth the candle, and abandoned it as a functional document, though his retention of it suggests it had a personal value.

Conclusions

D.252 offers a glimpse into James Sherard the composer, but more generally it allows us an insight into the creative process of composers working at the end of the Restoration period when the shift towards publication as the main means of dissemination was fully underway. The pool of evidence is, of course, limited and any conclusions must thus be tempered accordingly. The reworked sonatas in D.252, and the identification of movements to be excised in two of the sonatas, suggest that these changes were made after playing through the works. Sherard made further changes to several sonatas by the time they appeared in print. At least some of these changes would have required new scores in his fowle originall, given the extent of interchanging of the violin parts as well as the complete reworking of some movements. Perhaps this was done on paper slips, as in Locke's scorebook GB-Lbl, Add. MS 17801, though the extent of the differences between the first version of the sonatas as entered in D.252 by Anon H and those printed by Estienne Roger were significant. We may never know for sure, but the result must have aligned with Herissone's observations on the 'long-standing tradition for composers to store their consort music in large personal scorebooks', which preserve often extensive compositional revisions.⁶⁴ Perhaps the closest comparison is William Boyce's working score for his trio sonatas, published in 1747. The term fowle originall is anachronistic for the middle of the eighteenth century, though GB-Lbl, Add. MS 32,160 has all of its characteristics: it preserves early drafts of the sonatas with copious revisions and emendations, which can be traced through other manuscript sources leading to the printed collection.⁶⁵

While we can only glimpse fragments of Sherard's reworkings, it is striking how closely they mirror the earlier consort music examples of Matthew Locke, John Hingeston, Henry Bowman and others discussed by Herissone, involving 'both alteration of detail and extreme revision in which entire sections of music were reworked, sometimes repeatedly ... like Locke, both Bowman and Hingeston sought to vary the imitative relationships between parts, a feature that was obviously fundamental to the players' intellectual engagement with the music in these genres'.⁶⁶ Sherard's revisions tended to be primarily melodic, often involving imitative sections and the interchange of the violin lines. He also paid careful attention to small details, revising aspects of rhythm and register of bass lines. Herissone noted the following of Locke (though it could easily have been written about Sherard's Op. 2): 'What is most notable about these more minor alterations is that he took so much care and trouble over changing notational details that in most other contexts

⁶⁴ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 263.

⁶⁵ See I. Bartlett and R.J. Bruce, *William Boyce: A Tercentenary Sourcebook and Compendium* (Newcastle, 2011), 44-7.

⁶⁶ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 294.

would have been considered to be background variation – that is, characteristics that were usually not notated in a precise manner and that were subject to variation in performance’.⁶⁷

D.252 brings us no closer to knowing when Sherard composed his second set of sonatas. Although Op. 2 was not published until 1715–16, it seems most likely that they were written before 1711. And, as D.252 shows, they seem to have gestated for some time. Performance seems to have played a vital role in Sherard’s development of his compositions. His sonatas must have been among the chamber music performed in the Russell household. Sherard, along with Russell’s household musicians Haym and Cosimi, all indicated that the duke had heard and approved of their sonatas before publication; see Sherard’s dedication to Op. 1, Illus. 2 above. Lowell Lindgren has suggested that after Gasparo Visconti (known as ‘Signor Gasparini’) came to London in 1702 he may have joined Hyam and Cosimi in performing trios; he also noted the possibility of Sherard playing the violin with them, perhaps even in his own sonatas.⁶⁸

I suggest that these performances were not just for the private enjoyment of the musicians and their patron, but were central to Sherard’s compositional process and helped shape his sonatas. One suspects that Haym played a central role. Cosimi left England in 1705, as did Gasparini a year later. Haym stayed in Russell’s service until the duke’s death. Best known today as one of Handel’s librettists, Haym was a truly Renaissance man and a well-respected composer in his own right. His arrangements of operas by Bononcini and Scarlatti were hugely popular with London audiences. He published two sets of Corellian trio sonatas which must have been familiar to Sherard: Op. 1 (1703), dedicated to Wriothesley Russell; and Op. 2 (1704), dedicated to the politician Richard Edgcumbe. Between 1703 and 1706 Haym also edited Corelli’s Opp. 1–5 for Estienne Roger, and he was involved (with Gasparini) in preparing John Walsh’s contemporaneous editions of the same collections.⁶⁹ Given Sherard’s close association with Russell’s household, we might reasonably assume that he received feedback on his works from Haym and the other musicians. Perhaps that feedback and Sherard’s response to it from trusted ‘critical friends’ is what we find preserved in D.252. Whatever the case, the manuscript unquestionably shows that Sherard worked hard to cultivate the craft of his creativity.

⁶⁷ Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, 295.

⁶⁸ *Nicola Haym: Complete Sonatas*, ed. Lindgren, vii–viii, and passim.

⁶⁹ *Nicola Haym: Complete Sonatas*, ed. Lindgren, ix.

JAMES SHERARD AND THE OXFORD MUSIC SCHOOL COLLECTION'

INTRODUCTION

STEPHEN ROSE

Margaret Crum's talk 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection', given at the Oxford Bibliographical Society in February 1982, was a pioneering contribution to this topic. Previous scholars had known of James Sherard (1666–1738) as an apothecary and botanist,¹ while Michael Tilmouth's article of 1966 drew attention to Sherard as an amateur composer of two printed volumes of trio sonatas.² Crum was the first to reveal his significance as the erstwhile owner of large quantities of printed and manuscript music now held in the Bodleian Library. Her discoveries about Sherard's role originated from her work on the 'Revised Descriptions' of the Music School manuscripts, a set of inventories now available in the Bodleian's Sir Charles Mackerras Reading Room and also online.³ Her 1982 talk outlined the different strands of her work on Sherard's music collection, and laid the foundations for subsequent research, including Robert Rawson's study of the viola da gamba manuscripts associated with Gottfried Finger, and Min-Jung Kang's thesis on the early dissemination of the Italian trio sonata in England. I have also built on Crum's talk to develop insights into Sherard's role as a collector within networks of artisans, botanists, and connoisseurs that stretched across and beyond Europe.

This publication of the typescript of Crum's talk, reproduced in facsimile from the version held in the Bodleian Library, allows her pioneering work to be recognised.⁴ However, the typescript of her talk can be frustrating to use, principally because it lacks references, not even giving shelfmarks for the manuscripts discussed. Elsewhere in Crum's papers preserved at the Bodleian are her working notes made as she researched the topic, and fragments of a version of the talk which was presumably intended for publication and which includes some citations of shelfmarks.⁵ This introduction summarises and evaluates Crum's discoveries into James Sherard, provides citations for the principal sources she used, and shows how subsequent scholarship has built on or revised her work.

When delivered in 1982, Crum's talk covered a wide range of topics, arranged in a somewhat improvisatory fashion and illustrated by musical extracts from Sherard's trio sonatas. As Peter Ward Jones notes in his article in this issue, it was 'an over-long script' for the occasion, and 'she

¹ For a summary of James Sherard's career as apothecary and botanist, see W.W. Webb and S. Mandelbrote, 'James Sherard', *ODNB*.

² M. Tilmouth, 'James Sherard: An English Amateur Composer', *Music & Letters* 47 (1966), 313–22. See also Tilmouth's edition of Sherard's Sonata in C minor, Op. 2 no. 4, published by Stainer & Bell in 1963.

³ 'Revised Descriptions of the Music School Manuscripts', GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4 <@>.

⁴ The typescript is preserved at GB-Ob, MS 15586/4.

⁵ GB-Ob, MS 15586/5.

delivered it at a rather hectic pace'.⁶ For reasons of logical sequence, I will discuss Crum's insights in a different order from that taken in her talk.

The chronologically earliest topic in Crum's talk is discussed in her closing pages (pp. 16–21). This is the colourful tale of the Grand Tour of Wriothesley Russell, Marquess of Tavistock in 1698–99. Crum conveys the excitement of a young man exploring the continent, becoming intoxicated with the splendours of life in Rome, yet falling prey to the temptations of gambling and accumulating ruinous debts. The relevance of this Grand Tour to Crum's topic lies in the fact that Russell was accompanied by William Sherard (1659–1728), James's elder brother. In the dedication to his Op. 1 sonatas, Sherard acknowledged Russell's Grand Tour as the means for him to gain access to Italian music: 'Since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first taste and acquaintance with the Italian Musick'.⁷

Building on this well-known remark, Crum hypothesized that a large quantity of the Italian printed and manuscript music in the Music School collection was obtained via William Sherard's travels with Wriothesley Russell in 1698–99. In my work on the correspondence of the Sherard brothers, however, I have shown that William and James had longstanding contacts with continental scholars and booksellers both before and after Russell's Grand Tour. William Sherard acted as an agent, purchasing rare books, music, and antiquities for English scholars and connoisseurs.⁸ Moreover, James already had access to Italian music in the 1680s, as suggested by the Music School manuscripts of Corelli's trio sonatas associated with him. Min-Jung Kang has built on Crum's work to offer a more in-depth study of these manuscripts that can be plausibly dated to the late 1680s, such as the copy of Corelli's opus 2 inscribed 'James Sharwood' (MS Mus. Sch. D.255).⁹ In short, Sherard's Op. 1 dedication to Russell probably overstates the degree he was reliant on the marquess's tour.

Crum's account of Wriothesley Russell's Grand Tour lacks references, but she evidently based it largely on the correspondence to his mother Lady Rachel Russell, now preserved at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.¹⁰ This correspondence includes letters by Wriothesley Russell narrating the Italian cultural and social events he encountered, and more circumspect reports by his tutor William Sherard. Crum may also have found relevant material in the archive of the Dukes of Bedford, now held at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire. The correspondence at Chatsworth has also been used by Lois G. Schwoerer in her biography of Lady Rachel Russell, where she discusses Russell's tour through the lens of his relationship with his mother.¹¹ Further insights into his tour

⁶ P. Ward Jones, 'Margaret Crum's Work at the Bodleian Library', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 16b (2023), 1–5.

⁷ J. Sherard, *Sonate a tre ... opera prima* (Amsterdam, [1701]), dedication.

⁸ S. Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', *Musical Exchanges between Britain and Europe, 1500–1800. Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 357–79, at 358–62; *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection: Eight Works by Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, and Johann Kuhnau*, ed. S. Rose, Yale University Collegium Musicum, second series 20 (Madison, WI, 2014), ix–xi.

⁹ M.-J. Kang, 'The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660–1714)', Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), 132–3, 189–94, 202–14; Kang, 'The Fashion for Corelli in England', *Musical Exchanges between Britain and Europe*, ed. Cunningham and White, 92–107, at 96–8. Other manuscripts of Italian trio sonatas that can be plausibly associated with Sherard include GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. D.254 and Mus. Sch. E.400–403.

¹⁰ Correspondence dated 1980 between Crum and Chatsworth House survives in GB-Ob, MS 15586/5.

¹¹ L.G. Schwoerer, *Lady Rachel Russell: 'One of the Best of Women'* (Baltimore, 1988), 209–12.

can be found in Gladys Scott Thomson's 1940 account of the Russell family, written from the perspective of their household finances.¹² This again lacks citations, but is based on the family papers now held at Woburn Abbey, and was undoubtedly known to Crum.

I have used the correspondence surviving at Chatsworth House in my research on the Sherard brothers as agents acquiring rarities from overseas.¹³ I am preparing a larger-scale study of Wriothesley Russell's Grand Tour and his musical patronage, drawing on the financial accounts preserved at Woburn Abbey and the correspondence extant in various places, including Chatsworth House. This article will discuss how Russell's patronage was shaped by his advisors and associates; it will also illuminate the financial transactions through which he funded his tour, and his subsequent hire of Nicola Cosimi and Nicola Francesco Haym as household musicians.

Much of Crum's talk outlines her discoveries or hypotheses as to which items in the Music School collection were associated with Sherard. Because Sherard rarely added his signature or other marks of ownership to his music books, Crum's discoveries instead mainly depended on her study of handwriting and bindings. She took an inclusive approach to defining Sherard's hand: 'I felt myself able to recognize it in various states. It ranged from very formal, almost calligraphic transcripts through various phases to a swift scribble' (p.10). Subsequent scholarship has been more cautious, questioning the range of items she attributed to Sherard's hand.

Crum mentioned 'a collection of specimens of 3-part music for two violins and bass, classified according to key' (p. 8). This is Sherard's commonplace book (MS Mus. Sch. A.641), which I studied in detail in a chapter published in 2020.¹⁴ (The term 'commonplace book' is justified by the classification according to key, as opposed to a miscellany which would not be organised according to a system of headers). Sherard presumably assembled these extracts in the late 1690s as guidance as he developed his skills in writing trio sonatas. The importance of this volume is that it allows identification of Sherard's music hand, notably (as Crum commented) via the extracts of his own compositions initialled with 'J. S.'. As I have shown, the text hand can be verified against Sherard's letters, and the commonplace book also includes sketches for two movements in Sherard's Op. 2 sonatas.¹⁵ By showing the repertory known to Sherard, the commonplace book enables the identification of other items in the Music School collection with a Sherard provenance. Crum hinted at this potential on p. 15 of her talk, by connecting the extract from Boccaletti's Op. 1 with the printed partbooks of this set in the Music School collection (discussed further below). My chapter takes this further, identifying over 50 of the approximately 150 extracts in the commonplace book, and using the concordances with other items in the Music School collection to come to a more precise identification of Sherard's library.¹⁶

¹² G.S. Thomson, *The Russells of Bloomsbury 1669–1771* (London, 1940), 83–93.

¹³ S. Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector'; S. Rose, 'Musical Transfer and Elite Distinction: English Attitudes to Italian Music c.1700', *Translatio Musicae: Circulation and Use of Music in Early Modern Europe*, ed. L. Berglund and M. Schildt (Stockholm, forthcoming).

¹⁴ Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 362–71.

¹⁵ Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 364, 366–7, 371.

¹⁶ Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 362–79.

Crum also referred to other manuscripts in the Music School collection containing Sherard's compositions. The 'set of part-books titled "Sonate di Giacomo Sherard. Opera secunda"' (p. 9) is MS Mus. Sch. D.252, containing an early version of Sherard's Op. 2 trio sonatas in the hand of a professional copyist, with pasteovers containing emendations in Sherard's hand. The revision process documented in this intriguing source is investigated by John Cunningham in the current issue of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*.¹⁷ The 'very odd sheet of drafts in his hand' where 'early states of the composition seem to have been not crossed out only but washed out' (p. 9) is now preserved within MS Mus. Sch. C.93. It contains sketches of compositions for two violas da gamba and bass on an unusual type of paper that appears to have been varnished so that writing could be erased. Jessie Ann Owens has studied this as a rare surviving example of how the erasable tablets used by sixteenth-century composers may have been superseded in the seventeenth century by specially prepared paper on which drafts of counterpoint could be sketched and erased.¹⁸

Moving to manuscripts of other repertoires in the Music School Collection, Crum referred to sources of viola da gamba music that she believed to be in Sherard's hand (p. 10). Here she is alluding to MSS Mus. Sch. D.228 and Mus. Sch. D.249, both of which contain works by Gottfried Finger among other composers. Robert Rawson, however, has shown Mus. Sch. D.228 to be a Finger autograph, and Mus. Sch. D.249 to contain evidence of Finger and Sherard copying together, with Sherard emulating elements of Finger's hand.¹⁹ Rawson's research not only suggests that Sherard may have been a pupil of Finger, but points to the difficulty of identifying Sherard's musical hand, particularly if it fluctuated depending on the contexts in which he was copying. Further work on the viola da gamba music associated with Sherard can be found in Peter Holman's study of professional and recreational players of this instrument around 1700.²⁰

Crum also identified groups of Italian printed music in the Music School collection that she believed may have been acquired by James Sherard, possibly via William's Italian contacts during Russell's Grand Tour. These include a group of about 40 partbook sets of Italian instrumental music, 'distinguished by their grey paper covers' (p. 15). Crum linked these to Sherard because the group includes Boccaletti's Op. 1, from which excerpts appear in his commonplace book. On the exemplar of Boccaletti's Op. 1, details of the composer and work are inscribed by a neat, unknown hand on the violin 1 part, and by Sherard's hand on the organ part (identified by his distinctive shape of the 'B', 'S' and 'I').²¹ I have identified the 40 partbook sets in this group in my chapter in published in 2020.²² The repertoire includes collections printed in Bologna between 1673 and 1695; Crum hypothesized these books were 'from the collection of an Italian instrumentalist, possibly from the neighbourhood of Bologna, who bought music during the last quarter of the seventeenth

¹⁷ J. Cunningham, 'The Craft of Creativity. James Sherard's Opus 2', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 16b (2023), 29-99.

¹⁸ J.A. Owens, "'El Foglio Rigato" Revisited: Prepared Paper in Musical Composition', *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M.J. Bloxam, G. Filocamo and L. Holford-Strevens (Turnhout, 2009), 53-61.

¹⁹ R. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: The Early Music of Gottfried Finger (c.1655-1730)', Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), 39-40 <@>.

²⁰ P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge, 2010), 19-32, 78-80.

²¹ GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. D.356-359.

²² Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', 375-7.

century' (p. 15). Possibly these volumes were bought by William Sherard during his time in Italy in 1698–99.

Crum's talk also associates Sherard with a further 31 Italian partbook sets of instrumental music, in grey paper bindings with spines reinforced by an extra strip of paper, whose contents are often annotated by an Italian owner, and which again have inscriptions on the covers. Crum ascribed several of these inscriptions to Sherard (p. 15), although it is hard to identify the scribes of such short annotations. Further research is needed to clarify the provenance of this second group of printed partbooks. However, Crum made significant inroads into accounting for why the Bodleian Library has what Denis Stevens described as 'exceptionally rich' holdings of late seventeenth-century Italian printed music, including partbook sets that otherwise survive in only one or two copies elsewhere in Europe.²³

A major contribution made by Crum was identifying the connection between Sherard and the significant group of manuscripts of German church music from the late seventeenth century in the Music School collection. On p. 11 of her talk she commented on this group of sources, including vocal concertos by the Leipzig Thomaskantors Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau. The link with Sherard is shown by a chain of scribal concordances and copying which Crum alludes to briefly, but can be specified here in detail. The scribe of Giovanni Battista Bassani's 'Confitebor tibi Domine' in the German manuscripts (MS Mus. Sch. C.30, ff. 1r–22v) is also the copyist of four suites for two bass viols by Peter Grecke in MS Mus. Sch. D.253, which contains duplicate parts copied by Sherard and the inscription 'Mr Finger' in Sherard's hand.

In terms of the provenance of the German manuscripts, Crum noted that 'most of them seem to have strayed from St. Thomas' Leipzig', but also observed their wide variety of scribal hands and paper types (pp. 11–12). In a short article of 1985, she developed her hypothesis of a Leipzig origin for these sources, suggesting either they were brought to England by Johann Wolfgang Franck (who worked in London between 1690 and 1693, and whose 'Paratum cor meum Deus' survives in score in the Music School collection), or that these materials were acquired by William Sherard during Wriothlesley Russell's travels through north Germany.²⁴

In 1993 Peter Wollny substantially revised Crum's hypotheses on the German manuscripts.²⁵ His systematic work on the paper types and scribal hands in these sources allowed a more complex picture of their origin to emerge. In particular, he showed the manuscripts of many of the compositions by Leipzig cantors were copied in other German locations, and therefore testify to the initial dissemination of these compositions beyond Leipzig. According to Wollny, the German sources belong to three groups: southern German sources (predominantly vocal concertos by Samuel Capricornus, but also including compositions by Sebastian and Georg Knüpfer); manuscripts from Saxony (including pieces by Johann Philipp Krieger and Johann Kuhnau, and

²³ D. Stevens, 'Seventeenth-Century Italian Instrumental Music in the Bodleian Library', *Acta Musicologica*, 26/iii–iv (1954), 67–74, at 67–8.

²⁴ M. Crum, 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Herttrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97–101. Franck's 'Paratum cor meum Deus' survives in score, probably in an English hand, at GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. c.148.

²⁵ P. Wollny, 'A Collection of Seventeenth-Century Vocal Music at the Bodleian Library', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 15 (1993), 77–108.

Johann Schelle's 'Ah! quam multa sunt peccata'); and manuscripts originating in northern Germany (including Schelle's Magnificat, 'Salve solis orientis' and 'Durch Adams Fall'). Many of the items show more than one codicological layer, for instance with the original title page being supplemented by title page wrappers in a slightly later hand, possibly when the collection was assembled in the 1700s. A connection with Lübeck is suggested by the presence of four items in the hand of Jacob Pagendarm (1646–1706), cantor at the Marienkirche there, including an autograph of his 'Befiel dem Herrn' (MS Mus. Sch. C.43). Wollny's insights suggest that a large proportion of the German manuscripts may have been assembled in northern Germany, possibly by Pagendarm, before transfer to England.

Further research on the German vocal music in the collection is included in my 2014 critical edition of *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection*. In the preface I outline evidence of the Sherard brothers' links with continental Europe through their travels and correspondence networks, showing multiple possible avenues through which James may have obtained these German sources. I also show the significance of the music in the edition, including large-scale examples of Latin concerted church music as used in Leipzig throughout the seventeenth century, and two pieces by Johann Kuhnau that include obbligato keyboard passages. Johann Schelle's 'Durch Adams Fall', a unicum in the Music School Collection, is one of two surviving examples of the composer's 1683 cycle of vocal concertos, which was one of the first to combine musical settings of Biblical stories with arias and chorales. As I explain, this cycle aroused controversy in Leipzig through Schelle's attempt to communicate with a wide cross-section of the congregation through use of chorale tunes and German texts.²⁶ Markus Rathey has subsequently argued that 'Durch Adams Fall' is a significant step towards the development of operatic styles of writing in Leipzig, in particular with the recitatives and arias serving a single dramatic purpose.²⁷ Many avenues still remain to be explored with these German sources, especially those of music by Capricornus. But this chain of scholarship on the German vocal music is an indication of the insights that have been built upon Crum's work.

A final topic covered in Crum's talk is the route through which Sherard's sheet music may have entered the Oxford Music School collection. This is addressed, somewhat obliquely, near the start of her talk, where she gave a potted history of the collection. Continuing the early history of the collection that she offered in her 1967 article for *Music & Letters*,²⁸ Crum outlined developments in the nineteenth century that shaped the form that the collection takes today. She explained the role of Robert Hake in making a catalogue that formed the basis of the descriptions of the Music School manuscripts in the published *Summary Catalogue*,²⁹ and the role of W.R. Sims in organising the binding of the manuscripts and reorganisation of the shelfmarks.

Here Crum highlighted the role of the bequest of Richard Rawlinson in expanding the Music School collection in the mid eighteenth century (pp. 4–5). Rawlinson's published will specified: 'I

²⁶ *Leipzig Church Music from the Sherard Collection*, ed. Rose, xiii, xvi–xvii.

²⁷ M. Rathey, 'Setting the Stage. Drama, Libretti and the "Invention" of Opera in Leipzig in the 1680s', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 29 (2017), 287–311, at 292–6.

²⁸ M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48 (1967), 23–34.

²⁹ F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been Catalogued in the Quarto Series*, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1895–1953), vol. 5.

do give and bequeath ... my printed and manuscript books of music ... to be lodged and preserved in the music school of the said university [Oxford]'.³⁰ Yet prior to Crum, no scholar had tried to trace these musical items. Crum pointed to three items with Rawlinson's bookplate, and also noted bindings from old parchment leases as a characteristic of his collection.³¹ Such a binding occurs with 'The Essay on the Musical Canon' (MS Mus. Sch. D.375*), for which Crum judged: 'the writing of this essay seems to me to be James Sherard's' (p. 5). On this basis, she suggested that Rawlinson may have acquired Sherard's books from his widow, before bequeathing them to Oxford.

Crum's hypothesis of transmission via Rawlinson, however, is complicated by Sherard's will, which bequeathed 'all my Books in Physick Botany and Musick' to William Monke, another London apothecary.³² As yet, there is no evidence of how these music books were transferred from Monke to Rawlinson. Furthermore, Crum's identification of the scribal hand of 'The Essay on the Musical Canon' is somewhat equivocal; indeed, this hand differs in several respects from that seen in Sherard's letters. Nonetheless, Benjamin Wardhaugh accepts Crum's identification of the scribe as Sherard in his discussion of this manuscript treatise as a possible example of the writings of Thomas Salmon.³³ Further research is needed on the role of Rawlinson, and how Sherard's manuscripts reached the Music School. There may be clues to be found through further scrutiny of the sources for marks of ownership, or in surviving correspondence and auction catalogues of the mid eighteenth century.

Overall, Margaret Crum's talk distils the many insights she gained into the Music School manuscripts while preparing the 'Revised Descriptions'. Publication of her talk in this issue of *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* allows Crum to receive long-overdue acknowledgement for her scholarly contributions, which have acted as the foundation for subsequent generations of research. Much work remains to be done to understand fully the items from Sherard's music library that are now preserved in the Bodleian Library, and an up-to-date, comprehensive catalogue of the Music School collection remains a priority. It is to be hoped that the present introduction will encourage the process of ongoing research, by helping readers understand Crum's work within the context of wider and subsequent scholarship.

³⁰ *The Deed of Trust and Will of Richard Rawlinson* (London, 1755), 4–5.

³¹ These three items are GB-Ob, MSS Mus. Sch. C.95, D.222 and E.400–403.

³² National Archives, PROB 11/688/95, f. 261r.

³³ *Thomas Salmon: Writings on Music. Volume II: A Proposal to Perform Musick and Related Writings, 1685–1706*, ed. B. Wardhaugh (Farnham, 2013), 51–3.

Margaret Crum

^{and the}
James Sherard, The Oxford Music School Collection

Sonatas for Two Violins & continuo, Op. 2 no.8 in F minor; Op.1 no.6 in E minor,
Op. 2 no. 4 in C minor, played by Dr. Harry Johnstone, Harpsichord;
Kate Bailey & Christina Bashford, Violins; John DuPre, Viola da Gamba.

The aim of my paper this evening is to bring together pieces of evidence which - as I now see it, remarkably slowly - suggested to me that a large section of the Music School collection whose provenance has been unknown can be traced to the ownership of our composer James Sherard, and that his books came through Richard Rawlinson.

Before we get to the Music School Library, I'd like to say something about James Sherard himself. Then, if I give an outline of the history of the library - what is known of the way it was assembled, and also in what order it has been kept these three and a half centuries - the space where Sherard and Rawlinson belong will appear. Then I want to describe some of the signs of Sherard's ownership and the collectors behind him. The last section will concern itself with the rather picturesque origin of part of his collection. I think, though no evidence of a sale seems to exist, Rawlinson probably bought the whole collection after Mrs. Sherard died in November 1741.

Music was, as it were, James Sherard's third string. He was a physician, and, as a 17th century physician, necessarily concerned with plants. He was born in Leicestershire in the year of the fire of London, 1666. The Chelsea Physic Garden was founded when he was a child of 7. When he was 15½, he was apprenticed there under John Watts, who was an excellent curator of the garden, and either imparted or fostered gardening skills which were to occupy as much time as could be found for them for the rest of his pupil's life. Sherard's work as a physician was very successful (he was said to be a favourite of John Radcliffe), and he was able to afford to retire well before he was 60. For a few years before this he was searching for a suitable house, and he found one at Eltham in Kent, which is now part of London, where he had a superb collection, said to 'outdo the King's Garden'. It produced exotic things like coffee and bananas, Sherard being one of the early experts on heating plant-houses with stoves, and a very full collection of British plants, for which he travelled, rode (though he wasn't good on a horse), and walked over much

of the British Isles. He travelled abroad as well.

The Dutch botanist Dilleni^{us} published a catalogue, Hortus Elthamensis, in 1732. Dilleni^{us} was asked to come to England by James Sherard's elder brother William, who is interesting in his own right, but concerns Oxford mainly because - on the condition that Dilleni^{us} should be the first Professor - he founded our chair of Botany. For this he left £3,000. James carried out the practical business concerning the chair (and even took part in the restoration of the Botanic Garden, which had become very weedy and needed stove houses.) Because of this the degree of D. Med. was conferred on him, and he was also a kind of honorary fellow of the College of Physicians. But as early as 1716 he had written to his friend Dr. Richard Richardson 'of late the love of Botany has so far prevailed, as to divert my mind from things I formerly thought more material, and has put me upon making excursions into the country some distance from London, where I have met with a great many of Mr. Ray's Tropical Plants upon the spot, and some few not known before to grow in England'.

He died in 1738, and his wife died in the early winter of 1741. They had no children. The only fault I know of his was that he almost never wrote his name on his books, and hardly ever wrote the names of their composers.

For his music we have to go back a little, before plants took possession. The only book in the Music School Library that he did write his name in is a set of parts of Corelli's sonatas for two violins, bass and continuo, op.2. On the bass part he wrote 'James Sharwood'. This is a form of the name used by his father, but not by the sons when they grew up, and he must have been a young man when he wrote it. The sonatas were published in 1685, when he was 19. I have not collated the manuscript, but think it very likely that it was taken from a borrowed printed copy. Two other sets of parts are uniform with the Corelli sonatas, written in the same hand (I shall return to the hand), on the same kind of music paper, bound in similar but differently coloured marbled boards. Both are interesting. One contains sonatas by Lelio Calista, who at that time was known only in manuscript and was admired and quoted by Purcell. The other contains a selection of pieces by the Englishmen Purcell and Blow, with more by Corelli and others, all copied without ascription. I think Harry Johnstone would probably have predicted just this kind of selection by Sherard for study as a young man, from the character of his own compositions.

There are connexions of these manuscripts I would like to mention. They belong to a family of which the most distinguished-looking is a score, now in the British Museum, which Marylin Waifes found has links with Purcell. It includes nearly all the same music, and Sherard's parts for the Calista sonatas may be derived from it: I have not compared the text, but the order is the same, and Calista manuscripts were rare. The other link concerns the Music School Library more closely: nearly all the pieces in the three sets are found again in a large set of part books there, in which they make up approximately half the number of sonatas. Here the composers' names are given. They look like a piece of professional copying, several hands working together in a common style which we find again in the Sherard collection. They are among the very few Music School ~~books~~ to have the bookplate of Richard Rawlinson. There is no proof that they ever belonged to Sherard, but they do include music he once chose to possess, with more of the same kind, looking (physically) like music which certainly did belong to him.

The sonata we heard is from Sherard's op.2, which was published about 1711. Op.1 was advertised in The Post Man on 16 September 1701. It was dedicated to the second Duke of Bedford: *"I am encourag'd to hope your Grace will vouchsafe the same reception you was pleas'd to give them when you did me the Honour to hear them perform'd. Besides, my Lord, I beg leave to think they have some small title to your Grace's favour since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first tast and acquaintance with the Italian Musick. Your Grace will find indeed as great disparity betwixt that, and what is here offer'd you, as betwixt their fruits, and such as we raise from their Stocks, but I know your Grace will make allowances for the difference of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter; The most we can pretend to by our Performances, is only to revive an idea of their Great Masters, and by our faint Copies, to put your Grace in mind of the excellent Originalls."*

I want now to make a new start, to begin again with a brief outline of the history and the nature of the Music School Library. William Heather founded it when he instituted his chair of music in 1626. Heather was a practical musician, and had sung in the choir of Westminster Abbey for 30 years when in 1615 he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. His object in the Oxford foundation was to encourage the performance of music in the University, and he provided for a choragus who was to ^{ide}preside over music-making one afternoon a week during term; for this he gave instruments and music books. These books were his own very rich collection, mainly of

printed madrigals and motets, which he had bound as parts so that a group of singers could make their choice from a wide selection of works, all within one single volume. The binding he preferred was russet calf decorated with his initials and other devices in gold, tied with strings of colours ^{vary} ~~range~~ from set to set. They may have been used during the early years, and were always treasured by their curators, being kept apart from later acquisitions. To these books a series of Professors during the 17th century made additions, till at the death of the fourth and most active of them, Professor Edward ^{sw} ~~Leve~~, in 1682, a fair-sized working library of vocal and instrumental parts and scores had been assembled. With them of course survived music kept for curiosity, because it was old, or handsomely bound, or was in the composer's own hand or had been treasured by someone, but it was primarily a working library. On ^{sw} ~~Leve~~'s death a list was made, and if you compare the list with the books it is for the most part possible to know what, during the 17th century, the Music School owned, and where it came from.

After 1682 there is an interval of about 150 years during which activity is not recorded, and it looks as if there was no longer much use of the library for music-making, but its existence was known, and Rawlinson bequeathed his manuscript and printed music to the Music School, not, with the rest of his collection, to the Bodleian, in the will dated 1752. It probably arrived in 1755, when the whole vast bequest was brought to Oxford.

It seems that this part of the inheritance did not arouse much interest, and the only mention I have found of it is a rather obscure note some years later by Philip Hayes. Philip Hayes assumed responsibility for the library when he succeeded his father as Professor in 1777. He found a list which had been made by another earlier Professor, Richard Goodson the younger, based on the one made at ^{sw} ~~Leve~~'s death. (Two pairs of fathers and sons covered the years from 1682 till 1797). The younger Goodson had intended to count the books. The younger Hayes evidently didn't, but he did know that the library had grown since Goodson's list, and he noted that it included 'a small collection of English Church Music, the Benefaction of the late Dr. Rawlinson'. This is baffling, because it may be taken for granted that if Rawlinson thought it worth making a separate bequest, there must have been a substantial collection of music, (as he said) ~~of~~ printed as well as manuscript, to be provided for. There is in fact very little English Church Music at all, and none of it is printed. James Wrighton, who was working for a Cambridge Ph.D. on the Wanley part-books, observed that Hayes must have meant some particular part of

the bequest, and (after some intricate research) convinced me that what was specified was indeed four books of Tudor church music, three certainly and one probably once owned by Humphrey Wanley.

There are a few more isolated books which can be seen to have belonged to Rawlinson. I have mentioned the part-books of sonatas, and his book-plate is found also in a volume containing three Italian cantatas. Beyond the book-plates, I am helped by Brian Enright's D. Phil. thesis. He found Rawlinson recommending in a letter to Ballard on 28 April 1744 'a strong bind of old parchment leases'. You can pick out a number of bindings like this, lettered in ink, more or less calligraphically, on the spines, in the Bodleian Rawlinson collections, and two Music School books are the same. One is the cantatas with the book-plate - they seem to have been selected for binding from among similar manuscripts because they have painted initial letters on their first pages. The other contains two printed works, also found together in the British Library, and a manuscript essay called 'The Use of the Musical Canon', concerned with the placing of frets on stringed instruments when you are playing in different keys. (Bach's treatment of the same problem is the Wohltemperirte Klavier, the 48 Preludes and Fugues). The writing of this essay seems to me to be James Sherard's. The dates when Rawlinson acquired books which he bound like this are roughly 1742-9, and Sherard's widow had died just before.

There are links of one kind and another between three of these Rawlinson books and various groups of others in the Music School, and from this you can identify, first a few more from his collection and then, from further links, quite large sections of associated books which may be taken to have belonged with them. I shall want to say more about all that in a moment. But the outline of the history of the whole collection had better be finished first, and I shall go back now to Philip Hayes. There was no reason why he should have done more with Rawlinson's bequest than keep it safe, because his concern, very properly in accordance with Heather's foundation, was with live music and Rawlinson's motive as a collector was different. The last great accession though does seem to have come by Hayes' mediation. This is Boyce's Court Odes, from 1755 to 1779. Boyce had his autograph scores bound, and the parts were left separately, and could still have been used for performance, though it doesn't seem very likely that they were. There is no written explanation of their presence, but Hayes bought music for himself at Boyce's sale and he seems a likely person to have arranged for the Court Odes to be kept together at Oxford and to have taken them in to the Music School Library.

We have then really three main divisions; the first of which is the seventeenth century library assembled by Heather himself and his earlier Professors; the last the Boyce Court Odes. In between is the heterogeneous collection of late 17th and early 18th century manuscript and printed music which is the primary concern of this paper.

There is perhaps a need to say something of what happened to the collection after it ceased to grow. About 1850 it was decided that there ought to be a catalogue, and Robert Hake was appointed to make one. He was at this time a chaplain at New College, a scholarly practicing musician whose work at service-times was to assist in the choral music of the college chapel. He foresaw disturbance, and took the precaution of describing how the books were arranged when he found them, and, taking his note and the old shelfmarks together, it is possible to learn how the Music School shelves looked during the untroubled years after the arrival of Rawlinson's bequest. There was an organ at one end of the room, with cupboards for books to North and South of it, and there were chairs for the Proctors with more cupboards above them.

Heather's gift of manuscript and printed books was kept apart, but otherwise manuscripts were segregated from printed books. The shelves of course graduated from large, at the bottom, to small at the top. The Act Music was kept rolled up on two shelves above Heather's gift. If books which had been associated in earlier collections were the same size, they were often shelved together in the Music School, but groups had to be broken up if they were not uniform in size, and in the end were liable to be scattered wherever room could be found. There is, in fact, something, but by no means everything, to be learnt from the old positions on the shelves.

Hake wrote the shelfmark inside each book or parcel, and gave the manuscripts Roman numbers, I-^{CCC}~~XXX~~III. The printed books were listed alphabetically by composer at the beginning of his catalogue. For the manuscripts he worked through the entire series, listing the items by name and key and providing indexes of composers and of verbal incipits. The pencil numbers now written in the margins of the manuscripts are his and the catalogue refers to the pieces by these numbers. His work, bound as a heavy folio, has been depended on by everyone using the collection ever since. The Summary Catalogue descriptions are a condensed version of it, adding only (but very valuably) notice of provenance and date, which Hake did not always mention.

The function of the library had by this time changed from Heather's intention. It had started as the source of parts from which members of the University could choose what they would play or sing

X together on Thursday afternoons as he had appointed, and it had become the quarry of musical historians. After a while, it was agreed that it should be placed in the care of the Bodleian, and the statute authorizing the transfer is dated 27 January 1885. A musical member of staff who I should like to know more about, W.R. Sims, was already engaged on the Library's own musical holdings. He took on the Music School collection as an overtime job, and in 1886 was paid £45. 7. 6. for 'the arrangement and press marking ... and sending to the binder 238 volumes of old music'. (His ordinary salary, which had started a bit earlier at £100 a year, was this year raised to £130). The binder's books show that he sent the volumes to the workshop of Hayes in batches varying from a handful to about twenty between 14 January and 11 July. (Someone may discover a family connection of the binders with the 18th century Professors William and Philip Hayes). These are the greenish khaki volumes with gold lettering which are now a conspicuous feature of the collection in the bookstack on J floor. In November the grander binder, Maltby, was paid £5 1. 6. for doing 29 volumes of manuscript music in scarlet cloth. This is the late 17th century Act music, kept rolled up on a top shelf, and it was probably left on one side because it presented the greatest difficulty. It consists generally of a composer's score, sometimes on a very large frail sheet, accompanied by parts varying between substantial folio sheets, for the important vocal and instrumental parts, down to the smallest scraps copied for someone who had only a few notes to sing or play.

The worst part of the work must have been the loose papers, and I think the change of binder reflects some dissatisfaction - either Mr. Sims hoped to avoid part of the problem by leaving the Act Music as it was, and changed his mind later, or his experience of Hayes made him hope for better results from Maltby. I think they were better.

There were several difficulties. In the first place, loose music could always ~~very~~ ^{ordered} easily have been discovered, and by the time of Hake's work there were papers which just had to be put in parcels roughly according to size, regardless of provenance. But there is evidence of a good deal of care in the comparatively slight disorder among such papers. Playing and singing parts had of course been kept loose on purpose. While they were still in use, the natural and tidy thing to do was to tuck them inside the score or the keyboard bass, which has a sort of seniority and is always the longest. This gives the appearance of a quire, and it was decided that Hayes should stitch

and bind each set as it stood, guarding-in single sheets. There was no longer any question of their being used for performance, but the arrangement is a bad one for people who want to transcribe, particularly if they are working from microfilm. It will not be altered now unless there is some reason for rebinding connected with conservation. There were a few sheets, and a few still remain, which really needed to be removed from an association which was harming them, big thin sheets being damaged by proximity to smaller thicker sheets or quires, or non-conformist sheets being folded to make them agree.

Mr. Sims left unbound a series of over a hundred sets of printed music, which came to no harm, because, perhaps, few people looked at them. But their existence was known from Hake's catalogue, and at the dawning of a new interest in them, the library provided the protective folders which Mr. Harvey remembers being made when he first came to Bodley's bindery in 1939. It was Mr. Sims who had to rearrange the volumes according to Bodleian divisions of size. He relied greatly of course on Hake's catalogue, and within the size divisions he placed and numbered the printed books in alphabetical order as Hake had listed them.

While I was at the Bodleian there was increasing use of the Music School collection - the many demands for microfilm seemed to justify an attempt to make a more detailed catalogue, and this involved going through the manuscripts systematically. It was in the course of this that signs of Sherard's ownership came to light. And some readers in particular raised questions which in the end brought to notice points I want to turn to now, indicating the provenance of a great many apparently stray books.

But having brought the history to the present, we could reward ourselves by hearing the second of our sonatas - Op.1 no.6 in E minor.

At this point I would like to say everything first, because one thing so depends on another, but perhaps as good a starting-place as any in trying to assemble Sherard's library is material selected from those volumes of loose sheets I spoke of, because, rather scattered among them, the pages which first showed me his identity are found. One which brings a whole cluster of manuscripts and printed books together in different ways is a collection of specimens of 3-part music for two violins and bass, classified according to key,

transcribed on folded 4^o sheets. Composers named are Boccaletti, Ruggiero and Tibaldi. (Ruggiero was represented in the family of MSS whose connections with Purcell and with Rawlinson ^Ispoke of earlier). Music apparently composed by the transcriber is initialled J.S., which at first sight meant nothing to me. (These sheets were bound in a miscellaneous volume which included quite unrelated autograph manuscripts of John Blow and Thomas Tomkins)

It happened at the first instance rather by chance that I looked into the set of part-books titled 'Sonate di Giacomo Sherard. Opera secunda', because I knew nothing about James Sherard and nobody ever asked about this manuscript. The music was transcribed by a copyist (in a style rather similar to that of the hands that worked together in the big Rawlinson part-books) but there are alterations (in another hand) of a kind that suggest the composer himself. There are minor alterations, such as added markings of tempo or dynamics, and changes of notes so that (for example) a brief ~~melody~~ ^{melody} may be substituted for one held note, or a few notes in a part may be altered. Some more substantial rewriting was done on pieces of paper pasted over the old copy. Sometimes a whole page will have been crossed through and the word 'new' written at the top of the page. The correcting hand is of course James Sherard's and it is the same as that of the 3-part specimens for two violins and bass.

I will complete what there is to say of his compositions. In another loose-paper volume is a very odd sheet of drafts in his hand, on the same paper as the 3-part specimens. The oddity is, that early states of the composition seem to have been not crossed out only but washed out. Bodley's conservation department tell me that the paper was re-sized, and this has produced a strange yellowish glaze over the surface. You have to remember that James Sherard was an apothecary. Further attempts were written over the visible faint earlier notes. The music is a suite for 2 bass viols and continuo. I don't know what it sounds like. In any case it gives a substantial quantity of Sherard's writing in various phases of formality and the reverse.

The accidental discovery of Sherard's musical hand provided an answer to a question which had bothered the musician Arthur Marshall, and also bothered me because he asked my advice, when he was searching for music for viola da gamba, and in particular, for light on the works of Godfrey Finger. I would like to enlarge a little on Mr. Marshall's work. Among the playing parts formerly kept as loose sheets he found a

number of copies, mostly in one hand, of works which engaged his interest. Musically several of them turned out to be well worth the labour of transcription, but before that could be done there were puzzles to be solved. Relationships were obscured until he found that some were written in scordatura. These he was often able to attribute to Godfrey Finger himself. Perhaps scordatura needs explanation. It is in rare cases convenient to write a piece for a stringed instrument tuned in an unusual way: you may want a different and special tone, as Mozart did for the viola in the *Sinfonia Concertante* where the strings are a semi-tone above the usual pitch; or you may need a lower note than the normal bottom string, and the player may tune that string to a note below the accustomed one; or the notes may just lie more conveniently if the tuning is changed. If you play a stringed instrument you are supposed to be aware of which note you are playing, but habit is strong and the expectation is that a certain note will be produced by placing a certain finger in a certain place on the string. The easiest way to read notes on a string tuned to an unaccustomed pitch is to have them written as if the pitch were normal. Of course this makes nonsense (scordatura, discord) to the eye, and to the inner ear of anyone with perfect pitch, but (when played) sense to the ordinary musical ear. Finger's habit of using scordatura, not explaining that he was doing so (or, if he had explained, the copyist usually suppressed his explanation) combined with the perplexing ordering of the bound sheets, made Mr. Marshall's task a very puzzling one and involved long scrutiny of the manuscripts. He became inquisitive about the copyist and we both became familiar with the principal hand, and I felt myself able to recognize it in various states. It ranged from very formal, almost calligraphic transcripts through various phases to a swift scribble. The kind of paper used did not vary very much, and sometimes we were alerted to the likely presence of this hand by the materials used - brownish ink on yellowish quarto sheets, ruled with 12 staves and red marginal ruling. This is what Sherard's draft of the viola da gamba duo is written on. But it was not until after Arthur Marshall had completed his work on Finger, and I had compared the corrections in the scribal copy of ^{Sherard's} ~~his~~ Op.2 with the hands of the 3-part extracts and the gamba duo, and so had learnt his hand in various phases, that it became clear that this copyist was James Sherard himself. Further, the three sets of parts he had at the time when he still used the spelling Sharwood - the English and Italian violin sonatas - were also copied in his own careful hand.

By good fortune, Sherard's hand, once it was known, threw light on the provenance of whole groups of books which are in themselves of great interest, and which certainly need an explanation for their presence in Oxford. The first lot are German. Sherard's parts for bass viol music were nearly all copied from unknown exemplars; but in one case he is (as it were) caught at work, as his copy of duos by the Lübeck composer Peter Greck for two gambas was tucked inside the exemplar, and remained there. There are 4 duos, and he had completed copies only of two. (On the cover of his original he wrote 'Mr. Finger', but whether this was to remind himself of the name before Finger's music had become familiar to him, or because he had borrowed it from Finger, or meant to lend it to him, I don't know.) By good luck, this original was the work of a distinctive German hand which we meet again. It wrote out in score sonatas for viola da gamba by Johannes Schenck, Martin Radack of Copenhagen, Elias Baudringer and Buxtehude - the last two composers both came from Lübeck - (It will be remembered that it was Buxtehude's reputation as an organist in the last years of his life that drew J.S. Bach to walk from ^{out} Cöthen to Lübeck in 1705 to hear him play.)

cf. earlier
w. Am. gamba

This same German scribe also copied an anonymous latin motet which is part of a most unexpected collection of Lutheran cantatas, ^{in only one of which} none of them known to exist in other copies. ^{if known to exist in other copies} Most of them seem to have strayed from St. Thomas's, Leipzig, and they belong to the time a generation or so before the arrival there of J.S. Bach to take up his work as cantor. The music is of great interest because it represents the ^{tradition} ~~tradition~~ which Bach himself accepted and brought to perfection. With these cantatas [§] belongs a collection of sacred and secular works by Samuel Capricorn, two cantatas by [?] Gottfried Keiser, and a cantata by Johann Wolfgang Franck, of [?] ~~Ausbach~~ and later of Hamburg. I want to speak of this group in more detail before turning to the possibility that it was Franck who gathered them together. First, you need to know more or less what is here. The [?] ~~Leipzig~~ composers are Giovanni

Rosenmüller, Sebastian Knupfer and his brother Georg, and Johann Schelle. Two of these, Sebastian Knupfer and Schelle, were cantors at St. Thomas's, covering between them the years 1657 to 1701. Rosenmüller was rather earlier (Bach adopted a composition by him as the final choral of the cantata no. 27). He had been appointed to succeed Tobias Michael as Cantor, but left Leipzig in disgrace before the post fell vacant. He is thought - but not certainly known - to have gone to Hamburg for a while. Of Gottfried Keiser's life not much is known. He worked at Teuchern - about 20 miles SW of Leipzig, and is known twice to have put in for the post of Cantor at Hamburg, but he 'disappeared' between 1674 and 1676. His son, Reinhold, famous as a prolific and excellent composer of opera at Hamburg, was sent to be a pupil of Schelle at the Thomasschule in 1685, and (after a time at Brunswick) arrived in 1697 in Hamburg. I think he may well have owned some of his father's music. There are twelve cantatas here by these five composers, and associated with them 17 anonymous Lutheran works. Most of the music is in the form of parts for voices and instruments with a figured bass part. They are copied by a number of different people on folio sheets, and just occasionally two hands shared the work of a set of parts. I think you might learn something from a study of the watermarks, but there are almost as many watermarks as there are pieces. Nearly all this music was found intact by Hake, though there had been a little disturbance and some was separated from the main collection, and a very few parts had been lost. The normal arrangement was for each set of parts to be folded inside a paper cover on which they were identified by the first words of the text, a list of instruments and voices, sometimes the key, sometimes the occasion or date, and the name or initials of the composer. The Franck cantata is also in ~~an~~^{the} slightly conscious-looking cover of this kind. Some pieces have the look of being still very much as they had been left after their original performance. But some have been 'worked on', and provided with extra copies, or with scores of part or of all the work. One link between the Capricorn pieces and the Leipzig ones is the fact that the professional copyist from whom we have most of the Capricorn parts also wrote extra copies of some parts of an anonymous cantata, Laudate pueri, which is bibliographically firmly linked to the Leipzig cantatas. The original parts are in a rapid hand on rather absorbent paper, and the Capricorn copyist, with a collaborator, made clear copies of the most important parts - the voice, the organ and the violins. Perhaps from that it is safe to assume that the collector of Capricorn had a special interest in the motet Laudate pueri, and that he owned the whole collection to which it belongs.

Even if you look fairly quickly at the other extra scores and parts they are noticable amongst the original sheets because they are copied in a rather different musical convention and the paper is stouter and varies in size. There are not very many of these extra copies. There is an extra organ part for an elaborate Magnificat by Schelle, perhaps to save an organist from having to contend with the original rather difficult hand on poor paper. There are partial scores of works by Capricorn and Gottfried Keiser, in both cases giving the bass singing parts - which must have been wanted for study of some kind. And finally, two works are present in full score only. One is Johan Rosenmüller's setting of Nisi dominus aedificaverit domum for 4 voices and 5 instruments. (This score is unusual in the collection, besides, in not being the unique copy, as there is another at Berlin). The other score is copied in a style similar to the Rosenmüller, though the text hand at least is distinct. It is Johann Wolfgang Franck's setting of the words Paratum Cor meum Deus for 6 voices and 10 instruments. From the Grove article you would suppose it to be among many works that are lost, but a score was listed in the inventory of the library of the Margrave of Ansbach in 1686. The Music School score is the work of a copyist, with authoratative, but not very significant, correction: Here and there are extra notes, never quite new, always to be found elsewhere in the score, as for example, trombones being brought in to double a vocal entry, or bassoons to support the continuo bass, or the tenor instruments changing their note to agree with the violins. The most likely person to make such changes is surely the composer and, I assume, I hope not too rashly, that the score belonged to him. The point is of interest because of the similarity in style of the additional scores and parts belonging to the Leipzig and to the Capricorn collection.

Samuel Capricorn has nothing to do with the composers of Lutheran cantatas. He lived in Stuttgart for 1629 till 1665, and was widely known and enjoyed. A good collection of his music was in the library of the Margrave of Ansbach. His son (another Samuel) was by 1680 a senior Hofmusikⁿus - being paid a salary second to the Direktor, 210 florins. Johann Wolfgang Franck must have been the younger Capricorn's contemporary at Ansbach, before he left in January 1679, accused of murder, and took refuge in Hamburg. He will have chosen Hamburg because, outside Italy, it had the only opera house in Europe. Operas by Franck had already been performed there. After I had formed the notion that the Leipzig music probably belonged to him, I read that the style of the dialogue in his operas resembles the recitative in German 17th century music. But I am not sure that his successor at Hamburg, Reinhold Keiser, composer of over 100

operas for the Gänsemarkt, did not have a hand in the collection. His style also is said to have 'fundamental German qualities'.

It may be remembered that all this about Leipzig music and music by Capricorn started from Sherard's having left his copy of a viola da gamba sonata inside the exemplar, and from the copyist of the exemplar having copied also performers' parts of a Leipzig cantata. The thread may seem tenuous, but I think it really is quite strong.

Another such thread links James Sherard with Italian music. There are two manuscripts which combine to give a more or less complete version of Alessandro Scarlatti's opera 'Il Flavo Cuniberto', which was performed at the Theatre Capranica in Rome in 1696. In the first manuscript, there is a vocal score - voice, obbligato violin and bass - of the earlier numbers, followed by a full score of the later numbers, complete with parts for two violins, two oboes and two violettas, all copied by one hand. The second manuscript supplies violetta parts for the early numbers, copied on the same paper by a very similar hand. With these have been kept violin parts for the same numbers copied by James Sherard. He probably transcribed them from the score in the first manuscript so that they could be played. Perhaps (but this is only conjecture) a keyboard player and singers read from the score, and Sherard and his friends performed the string parts.

It seems reasonable to associate with the Scarlatti manuscripts others noticeably similar, although Sherard wrote nothing in them. There is a score of an opera performed in Munich in 1686, with cuts marked as if a further performance had been contemplated, and vocal score of arias from the opera 'L'Elmiro Re di Corinto' by Pallavicino, performed at the carnival at Venice in December 1687. There are four volumes of arias selected from operas performed in Rome in 1696 and 1697, and a collection of airs with trumpet obbligato by Alessandro Scarlatti. There are the three arias with painted initial letters chosen, for their handsome appearance, to be bound by Rawlinson. There is also an oratorio, 'Judith de Holoferne triumphus', by Carlo Francesco Gasparini, performed in Rome in 1689.

Besides this operatic music from Munich, from Venice and (most abundantly) from Rome, there was a great deal of instrumental work and a few slighter vocal works among the loose papers Mr. Sims had to deal with. Mingled with them is music copied by James Sherard.

Some of this loose music has Roman connexions. Two musicians, employed by the rival Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili, are represented: there is a cantata in score by Ottoboni's protégé Flavio Carol Lanciani, and a sonata by Giovannino del Violone. Both Cardinals employed a man known - from the instrument they played - by this name, but the one in question is Giovanni Lorenzo Lullier, a Spaniard, working at the Capella di S. Luigi dei Francesi in Rome in 1699, Pamphili's man. A violone is a very big viol, like a double bass. It is a rather rare instrument, but in this collection there are solo sonatas, copied by the same hand as the Lanciani cantata, and a number of suites and sonatas for combinations of string^{ed instruments} including violone.

I think I should cut short the details about instruments, hands and papers which show that much of this loose music had a common origin. I want to go on to the printed music.

Sherard's library contained books from two Italian collections. If you remember, one place where enough of his hand was present to make recognition possible elsewhere, was in some pages of specimens of 3-part writing, some of them drawn from sonatas by Boccaletti. The work in question was Boccaletti's op. 1, published at Venice in 1692. A copy of this set of part books belongs with 40 others distinguished by their grey paper covers, on one of which, in each set, James Sherard wrote the name of the composer and the opus number. Sometimes an earlier owner had written on the cover ^{already} ~~first~~. Twenty-six of these sets were published in Bologna between 1673 and 1695, seven in Venice, one in Florence, and one in Modena within those years, and two are earlier Venetian publications. Almost all are compositions for small instrumental ensembles including violins. I think you could argue that they are from the collection of an Italian instrumentalist, ^{possibly} ~~probably~~ from the neighbourhood of Bologna, who bought music during the last quarter of the 17th century. X

When Hake had to catalogue the Music School collection, it will be remembered he did the printed books in alphabetical order by composers' names, and Mr. Sims arranged them in that order, dividing them according to size. Their old shelf-marks show that many of these books from Bologna were formerly associated on the shelves, but intermingled with them now is a distinct collection. I identified the collector from his copy of parts of Frescobaldi's Canzoni Francise, book 4, of which the score was printed in Venice in 1645. The hand is distinctive, very

swift and decisive, sweeping to the right, using black ink and a rather thick nib. This man wrote the date at the end of the parts: 15 Nov. 1677 on the second violin, 20 Nov. 1677 on the violetta, and 13 Jan. 1678 'noctu' on the bass. The parts were covered in grey boards on which the title was written in ink. 28 more sets - all printed - can be ascribed to the library of the nocturnal copyist, either because he wrote against selected passages 'copiate' in his distinctive hand, or because the cover and the kind of shelf-mark^{to me, James} is the same. This collection is predominantly Venetian, having 21 books published there from as early as 1629 till 1682, and seven from Bologna, 1642 to 1692. The two collections together, with^{of the} isolated books, will have been a very valuable addition to Sherard's library.

At this point I should like to leave bibliograph^{ical} matters and speak of the travels on the continent of the second Duke of Bedford whilst he was still Marquis of Tavistock, between the winters of 1697 and 1699 to 1700. But I want to bear in mind the bibliographical connexions with Hamburg, Munich, Venice, Bologna, and Rome that have come into the account of James Sherard's library. (Nuremburg and Paris were left out, for simplicity).

Lord Tavistock's father was Lord William Russell, who was executed in 1683 under suspicion of being involved in the Rye House Plot on the life of Charles II. His mother, Rachel Russell, was a remarkable and most engaging woman, and letters to her from abroad from her son and his companions give an intimate and fascinating account of their journey. I have read some in the Bedford archives, and some at Chatsworth. Lord Tavistock was just 17 when he started his Grand Tour, already married but not yet living with his wife, who was about the same age. After their wedding he had spent a time at Magdalen College here, under the care of John Hicke - not George Hicke's brother John, but a trusted friend of Lady Russell, fellow of Magdalen and later a D.D. John Hicke went to the Hague with Lord Tavistock and a small 'household' in the autumn of 1697, and they were joined at Christmas by James Sherard's brother William, the founder of our chair of Botany. He had acquired a good reputation, and I suppose much experience, travelling with the young Lord Townshend a little earlier. Lord Tavistock wrote to his mother 'I cannot but think we have a man of skill with us; for we can ask no questions but what are satisfactorily answered. He is no way assuming, but very easy and very diligent'. I mustn't go into all the details that reached Lady Russell about people, places, money-supply,

coaches, the bitter cold in North Germany or the fearful heat of a ten months' drought in the south of France, food and drink and beds. The Marquis himself was an easy companion, putting up well with everything: Hickes wrote when the servant Robin was 'out of sorts to see in what manner his Lordship's meat is dressed ... my Lord laughs and is contented'. Later William Sherard said 'His Lordship has continued perfectly well and not so much as complained, but the rest of us think it no shame to say we have suffered and to complain'. Lord Tavistock was received by William of Orange at the Hague, on his way home from signing the Treaty of Ryswick, and became known to the Princess of Vaudemont, who he was to encounter later in Italy. They moved away first to Hamburg - crossing the frozen Elbe on sledges - and stayed there a while, going to the opera every night except post nights which were spent writing to Lady Russell. Everywhere they went Lord Tavistock seems to have moved in the grandest society (he had introductions from his mother's relations) and I think it may be assumed that at the operas at the Gänsemarkt he met also everyone connected with the musical activity of Hamburg. By this time the principal composer was Reinhard Keiser. They planned to go on to Venice by Ascension Day, and their final aim was Rome. We can tell how the journey went, not only from the letters kept by Lady Russell, but by the botanical activity of William Sherard, who probably took on this kind of job because it gave opportunities of meeting foreign botanists, visiting botanical gardens, and collecting plants and seeds. They were in Berlin early in March, travelled on through Nuremberg, doubtless through Munich, though it is not mentioned, over the Alps to Venice, Padua, Bologna and Florence, and were in Rome by early July.

In Rome Lord Tavistock was particularly delighted with his reception by Cardinal Ottoboni, who he described as 'one of the best-bred Cardinals as there is here'. 'He received me in the same manner as they do Ambassadors, we came in by the back way as Ambassadors do. The Cardinal received me at the top of the stairs, and when I came away he came as far as the stairs again'. A house was taken for Lord Tavistock and the letters over the next months are full of his lively social life, with parties and visits to the country. He told his mother 'I am every morning at my musick', and they went to the opera three or four times a week. There were musical entertainments - one

arranged particularly in Lord Tavistock's honour - at Cardinal Ottoboni's house. Lord Tavistock had a Serenade at his own house, for which 'we had the best music in town'. By the end of August he was writing of Cardinal Ottoboni as 'young and lov[ing] diversions', and 'now I go to his house and he comes to mine without ceremony'. He had also enjoyed 'very good music' at the Villa Pamphilia. Of course rumours reached Lady Russell that her son was in danger among the roman catholics, and that Ottoboni's favours were aimed at getting him to 'turn Papist', but he reported that this talk had made Ottoboni 'wonderfully angry', and that permission had been given for the protestant John Hickee to say prayers when they stayed at the Cardinal's country house. The rumours persisted, and a sinister person, who I don't at present know enough about, appears in the letters of Hickee and of William Sherard. He was a certain Scotch priest, Father Cosimo, nicknamed the Monk, who on two occasions presented Lord Tavistock to the Pope. Tavistock evidently enjoyed his company, and when the time came to travel north, it was found that he had offered to convey the Monk to Florence. This was done, but at Turin, when they thought they had left him behind, it was found that he now had business in Paris where Lord Tavistock intended to pass the last weeks of his tour. Hickee told Lady Russell 'This unexpected journey of the Father's puts his Lordships Governor upon thinking of a New Road'. Somehow these anxieties were removed, and On 17 October ~~Hickee~~ ^{Tavistock} told her he had ~~could tell her that her son had~~ not changed his Religion; that is a downright falsehood, and will soon dy of itself'.

The other trouble was money. For one thing, banking arrangements had been made through Sir John Chardin, which had seemed a natural plan, because Chardin was a friend of Sir Josiah Child and Child was the grandfather of Lord Tavistock's wife. It was found to have been a mistake to rely on anyone so old, because his information was out of date. Sherard wrote on several occasions to say that people they had been sent to by Chardin were dead, once as long as 15 years ago, or had failed, and they were held up in Milan on their return journey because they had no credit.

But inefficiency was not the only trouble. For one thing, there was the almost inevitable discrepancy between expected expense and what really happened. Lord Tavistock was generous and even

ostentatious. William Sherard's side of it was 'He will not be denied any thing he thinks for his honour and what he's pleased to call absolutely necessary, tho none about him see that necessity sometimes. His soul is too great and he is too generous for his present circumstances at least for his present allowance'. Lord Tavistock, having felt himself obliged to make Cardinal Ottoboni a lavish gift of plate, drew on his mother to avoid putting Sherard 'out of humour'. In answer to her protest he wrote 'I know Mr. Sherard would have refused me and the thing was absolutely necessary to be done yet I ^{rt}heavily repent on it'. He was rather frightened of Sherard and asked his mother to do all she could to 'make him be easy with me'. He was remorseful too at having spent so much, and promised to repay, even if it meant 'leaving London and staying in the Country for ten year'. And to show her how well he understood money, he told her he had bought two pairs of silver vases, for herself and for his wife Elizabeth, for about £100: 'When the man that makes them is dead they will send for double the price'.

Part of the object of the Grand Tour was of course to collect; Tavistock had written rather scornfully of some advice his sister gave him: 'As for what my sister says of buying in every town something; that would be a little inconvenient for a traveller, for it would be an intolerable trouble to carry them with me - but when I meet with anything that is famous, I shall not fail to buy it'. They did buy books, music, prints, 'designs', damask, silver, and so on, in Rome and Florence and Milan and no doubt in other places. Sherard posted bills of lading to Lady Russell, having sent some of the things on by sea from the north of Italy or south of France.

But the last and worst expense was gaming. Sherard first wrote of it to Lady Russell from Rome in April, 1699, calling it a 'distemper of the mind as love or jealousy, which are very hard to cure'. Lord Tavistock promised to give it up, but the truth was hard to find, and Lady Russell endorsed one letter 'About the 200 pistols: matter of fact'. She learnt that he had lost to the Princess Carpegna at Cardinal Ottoboni's ^{villa at} Frascati, and 'the Monk' and Cardinal Bouillon had shared his debt until he could repay; and again he was 'forced' to play at Turin with the lady from the Hague, the Princess of Vandemont. At one time Hickes was bound for him for £1000. William Sherard asked Lady Russell to write 'orders to stay no where, any longer than just to see the Places we shall go to visit ... we shall now

retrench, and be good husbands; but we shant be so unless we have particular orders for it'. In July 1699, probably to everyone's relief Lord Tavistock began (as people towards the end of a journey do) to feel 'a very great desire to be in my own Country', and in September he wrote from Paris 'I reckon now that all the fatigue of travelling is over, and it begins to look as if one was in ones own country'. In early December 1699 they were back in London.

The Marquis of Tavistock did not lose his interest in music, and after he became Duke of Bedford employed two musicians, Nicol^o Haym and Nicol^o Cosimi. They travelled with him when he left home and appear in his steward's accounts as the Eytalians. It has been suggested that they will have taken part in the performance of James Sherard's sonatas mentioned in the dedication.

We are back - 'this is where we came in' - The presentation copy of op.1 is at Woburn, each part covered in coloured paper boards, kept inside a red morocco portfolio with gold tooling. Someone wrote a latin poem to Sherard - 'Ad Authorem Ingeniosissimum', 'Musicus et Medicus praxtans', 'Et tum nil possint Pharmaca, sume Lynam'. But there is no great collection of music at Woburn, and I think the Sherard Music School collection, connected as it is with Hamburg, Nuremberg, Munich, Venice, Bologna, Rome and Paris, might, but for the Marquis of Tavistock's gaming debts, have been at Woburn now. I hope James Sherard didn't have to give too large a sum for those Leipzig cantatas, because I can't think their interest for him will have been very great.

Op.2 no.4 in C mi.

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MUSIC REVIEW

Walter Porter, *Collected Works*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 194 (Middleton WI: A-R Editions, 2017)

Henry Lawes, *Sacred Music*, ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, Early English Church Music 61 (London: Stainer & Bell for the British Academy, 2020)

Angelo Notari, *Collected Works*, 3 vols., ed. Jonathan P. Wainwright, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 230-2 (Middleton WI: A-R Editions, 2022)

PETER HOLMAN

Jonathan Wainwright, Professor in the School of Arts and Creative Technologies at the University of York, wrote his thesis on the music collection of the antiquarian and collector Christopher Hatton III; it was published as *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-70)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997). He has gone on devote much of his scholarly career to exploring seventeenth-century English concerted vocal music and its links with Italian music. In a series of ground-breaking editions he has revolutionized our knowledge of this fascinating but neglected repertoire, lying between the 'golden age' of Elizabethan and Jacobean composers and Henry Purcell and his Restoration contemporaries. There is a full list of his editions on his University of York webpage <@>, but it is worth mentioning here that some of them, including Robert Tailour or Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (1615), William Child's *First Set of Psalmes* (1639), John Wilson's *Psalterium Carolinum* (1657) and John Blow's Latin motets, are freely available online from York Early Music Press <@>. This valuable resource includes editions of a wide range of pre-1800 music, much of it with York connections or edited by York-based musicians.

This review is concerned with Jonathan Wainwright's recent editions of music by three composers: Angelo Notari, Walter Porter and Henry Lawes. As he points out, a thread that links them (apart from the fact that they were colleagues at the English court in the 1620s and 30s) is that they were concerned with developing an English version of the concerted music for voices, instruments and continuo that had first been developed by Monteverdi in the first decade of the seventeenth century; by the 1630s the idiom had spread to many parts of northern Europe 1630s. I will concentrate here mainly on those aspects of the music in these editions that concern stringed instruments and their use, though of course all of it can be performed with a bass viol on the continuo line, and a number of the pieces have obbligato parts for stringed instruments.

The largest and most significant of these editions is a three-volume set of the collected works of the Paduan lutenist and singer Angelo Notari (1566-1663), who settled in England in 1611 and worked in the households of Prince Henry and Prince Charles, then in the main royal music following Charles's accession in 1625, and finally (at least on paper) after the Restoration. This is an important and timely project: little of Notari's music has hitherto appeared in modern editions, but it is of consistently high quality, and it throws new light on the reception of Italian music in England. The first volume consists of a complete edition of Notari's *Prime musiche nuove* (1613), the first collection of Italian vocal chamber music with continuo published in England, together with music by him (or tentatively attributable to him) from manuscript sources, particularly the layer in Notari's hand in Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 878 and 880, two part-books from a probable set of three, and British Library, Add. MS 31434, a set of part-books in the hand of the St Paul's singer and copyist Stephen Bing (1610-81).

The other two volumes consist of pieces drawn from Notari's autograph scorebook, British Library, Add. MS 31440. They can be divided into three categories: (1) Notari's transcriptions of music by Monteverdi, Merula, Grandi and other Italian composers published in Italian collections and apparently taken by Notari from them; (2) pieces by other composers evidently reworked by Notari, including ornamented versions of monodies by Caccini, Rasi and others and some interesting reductions of five-part madrigals by Monteverdi for two sopranos and continuo; and (3) a large number of pieces with no known concordances, which in the absence of other evidence are presumed to be by Notari himself. Wainwright includes in the edition all the pieces in categories 2 and 3, but not those in category 1.

Most of the pieces in these three volumes are settings of Italian or Latin for one to five voices and continuo, though there are also some instrumental pieces. Add. MS 31440 includes sets of 'modi' or variations for violin and continuo on the *Ruggiero* and *Romanesca* chord sequences and on the popular tune 'La Monica'; as well as a 'Canzona passaggiata' for which Notari provided simple and ornamented versions of the violin part; and a Gagliarda for two violins and continuo. In addition, *Prime musiche nuove* includes a setting in the *bastarda* idiom of Rore's madrigal 'Ben qui si mostra il ciel' for solo bass voice or viol with continuo, and there is a version in Add. MS 31440 on Rore's madrigal 'Ancor che col partire' with violin divisions accompanied by bass voice and continuo. As with much of the vocal music in Add. MS 31440, we cannot be sure that Notari composed these remarkable pieces, probably the earliest solo violin music composed or at least copied in England. However, no concordances of them have come to light in the contemporary prints of instrumental music by other Italian composers, which are now mostly available in modern editions or facsimile reprints.

The Notari edition also includes a number of vocal pieces with obbligato string parts. 'Cosi di ben amar' in *Prime musiche nuove* is scored for two sopranos, bass voice and continuo with a sinfonia for two violins and continuo; the violins should presumably double the sopranos in the final section, though Wainwright does not discuss the possibility of such doubling in his very full 'Notes on Performance'. There are also a number of fine pieces in Add. MS 31440 with violin parts, such as 'Sancta, et venerabilis hostia' and 'Apollinaris incliti', both for two sopranos, two violins and continuo; they are similar in style and scoring to motets published in the 1620s by Alessandro Grandi and Heinrich Schütz. Of particular interest is the remarkable Christmas motet 'Angelus ad pastores ait', transmitted anonymously by Stephen Bing in Add. MS 31434 and tentatively attributed to Notari by Wainwright. It is scored for five voices and continuo with a brief introductory symphony for two alto-clef parts and continuo. These parts are allocated to two violas in the edition (a scoring that perhaps connects the piece with some of Giovanni Gabrieli's concerted motets, as does the use of a recurring triple-time refrain setting the word 'Noe'), though they might have been played with tenor viols in England. Wainwright suggests that Notari's Latin motets might have been performed in Queen Henrietta Maria's Catholic chapel or in the chapels of the Venetian or Spanish embassies; there is evidence (assembled in Wainwright's introduction to the first volume) that the composer acted in London at different times as a spy for both the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors.

Walter Porter (?1595-1659), a tenor (and doubtless lutenist), was a member of the Chapel Royal from 1617, and he also became Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey shortly before the Civil War. His *Collected Works* consists (apart from a song and three catches) of editions of two printed collections: *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) and *Mottets of Two Voyces* (1657). The former was the last English collection of madrigals and is the only one to be scored for varied combinations of two to five voices with two violins and continuo, while the latter is a collection of psalm settings

for two voices and continuo, the texts mostly taken from George Sandys's *Paraphrase upon the Psalms* (1636). This is the first scholarly complete edition of both collections, though Ian Spink published a few pieces from *Madrigales and Ayres* in the 1960s. According to the title page, Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* were 'To be performed with Harpesechord [*sic*], Lutes, Theorbos, Bass Viol, two Violins, or two Viols', and Wainwright connects the collection with the court ensemble active in the 1630s called 'His Majesties Four Lutes' and consisting of three sizes of lute with a theorbo. It is easy to imagine performances at Whitehall involving court singers, a large continuo group and two violinists drawn from the group called in one document 'Cooperarios Musique', which apparently played the repertory of Coprario's fantasia suites and other consort music involving violins.

Walter Porter claimed to have been a pupil of Monteverdi: in the preface to *Mottets of Two Voyces* he mentioned 'my good Friend and Maestro Monteverde' (with the name 'Monteverde' not printed for some reason but added in ink to a number of the surviving copies of the publication), and it is possible that Porter visited Venice in or shortly after 1621, when he received a licence to travel abroad for three years. However, Wainwright points out that Porter could have come across Monteverdi's concerted madrigals without leaving England. Notari, for instance, copied pieces from Monteverdi's *Settimo libro de' madrigali* (1619) into Add. MS 31440, and there are parallels between a piece such as 'Amor che deggio far' in the *Settimo libro* and Porter's 'He that loves a rosy cheek', both for four voices, two violins and continuo. Porter was no Monteverdi, but the pieces in the 1632 collection are always competently written and would doubtless come alive in energetic, committed performances. However, I found it difficult to summon up much enthusiasm for Porter's simple and sometimes banal *Mottets*. Wainwright aptly describes them as 'Commonwealth domestic *Gebrauchsmusik*'.

Henry Lawes (1595-1662) is the best-known of these three composers, but for his secular songs rather than his sacred music. Like Notari and Porter, he was a court musician, a countertenor in the Chapel Royal from 1626 and also a member of the secular Lutes and Voices from 1631. Wainwright's edition is in the series Early English Church Music, but it is entitled *Sacred Music* and the bulk of the volume consists of settings of metrical psalms (many of them also settings of paraphrases by George Sandys) and sacred songs for one, two and three voices with continuo, intended to be performed in a domestic setting rather in churches. Only ten pieces in the edition are anthems, and most of them are incomplete to some extent.

However, four of these anthems are of particular interest because, as Wainwright points out, they seem to anticipate the Restoration type of symphony anthem: they were apparently originally written for solo voices, full sections mostly marked 'Cho[rus]' and a string consort with continuo. The words of two of them, 'My soul the great God's praises sings' and 'Sitting by the streams', both settings of Psalm paraphrases by Thomas Carew, appear in a pamphlet published in 1655 entitled *Select Psalmes of a New Translation, to be Sung in Verse and Chorus in Five Parts, with Symphonies of Violins, Organ and other Instruments*. The music for them, and for two other pieces, the Christmas anthem 'Hark shepherd swains' and another psalm paraphrase 'Thee and thy wondrous deeds, O Lord', survive in British Library, Add. MS 31434, Stephen Bing's set of part-books already mentioned.

Bing's part-books give us the voice parts and an organ part for the Lawes anthems; the organ part consists of a bass line in the case of 'Hark, shepherd swains' but a two-stave part for the other three pieces. This organ part reveals that, in the case of 'My soul the great God's praises sings', the two instrumental passages are related to, and were probably derived from, the second air from William Lawes's five-part set in C minor (VdGS, Air no. 77). It looks therefore as if this anthem,

and probably the other three, were originally scored for five-part voices, five-part instruments and continuo. The reference in the 1655 pamphlet to ‘violins, organ and other instruments’ may mean that the instrumental parts were intended to be played with two violins and three viols with continuo. Lawes, essentially a song composer, was not at his best in full-voiced music. Wainwright characterizes his part-writing as often ‘clumsy and downright inept’, and there is, for instance, a much better setting of ‘Hark, shepherd swains’ by George Jeffreys. Nevertheless, Lawes’s four symphony anthems are historically important and are reasonably effective in their own terms, as is shown by the 1984 recording of them by the Consort of Musicke (Hyperion CDA 66136), which used reconstructions of the instrumental passages for two violins and continuo.

There is one other symphony anthem by Henry Lawes: ‘Zadok the priest’, written for the coronation of Charles II on 23 April 1661. This unassuming little piece was evidently popular (or perhaps just serviceable) because it seems to have been used subsequently for the coronations of James II, William and Mary, Anne and George I, only eventually being supplanted for George II in 1727 by Handel’s famous setting – which uses an interestingly different version of the text. Despite this apparent longevity of Lawes’s anthem, only the four voice parts, an organ part and an instrumental bass line have survived, but we know that the Twenty-Four Violins and eight of the royal wind musicians took part in the 1661 coronation, which explains why the instrumental bass part has a nine-bar introductory instrumental passage, indicating that it was originally a symphony anthem. While working on this review, and with a concert of coronation music in the offing, I had the idea of making a version of the anthem with reconstructed parts for four-part strings; I am appending a score of it at the end of this review in the hope that others might want to perform it. No examples of Henry Lawes’s concerted string writing survive, so I used Matthew Locke’s concerted motets and symphony anthems as models – which explains why my violin and viola parts contain some spicy dissonances and often soar above the rather low-lying voice parts.

All in all, these five volumes add considerably to our knowledge and understanding of English concerted vocal music and its connection with Italian music, and I am pleased to report that Jonathan Wainwright’s editing is exemplary. His introductions of the volumes are themselves important contributions to scholarship. In particular, his account of Notari’s life has some important new information, and the discussion of the sources of his music is masterly, as is the account of the printing and publishing of Walter Porter’s two collections. The musical texts are clearly carefully prepared: I have yet to spot an obvious error in them, though as nearly always happens in music of this period, I found myself occasionally disagreeing with Wainwright’s treatment of editorial accidentals.

I hope that these editions will encourage performing groups to explore this fascinating repertoire, though A-R’s pricing policy does not exactly encourage them to do so. The paperback scores of the Porter edition and the three volumes of the Notari edition are an eyewatering \$250 each; by contrast, Stainer & Bell’s hardback Henry Lawes edition is a relative snip at £82. A-R do advertise sets of instrumental parts for the obbligato instruments in the Notari and Porter editions (at \$40 and \$35 respectively), as well as separate scores of Porter’s *Madrigales and Ayres* at either \$2.50 for an offprint or \$4.95 for a digital print. However, there are at present no offprints advertised for the Notari edition. Stainer & Bell also advertise digital offprints of the Henry Lawes edition parcelled up by genre, so that a download of the five symphony anthems, for instance, costs £8 with a license to print off 10 copies, which is good value.

However, the Lawes edition does not include reconstructions of the missing string parts; Wainwright’s reconstructions of the William Lawes-derived symphonies for ‘My soul the great

God's praises sings' are relegated to the commentary. It would be good to have reconstructed performing editions of all of them – perhaps with modernised literary texts and with proper bar lines rather than the little dashed editorial marks below the stave used in the pieces transcribed from unbarred parts, which would be difficult to spot when reading in poor light. I get the feeling that the editorial policy developed for Early English Church Music is more appropriate for rather earlier music than Henry Lawes – this volume must contain the latest music in the series. Seventeenth-century music scores were always barred through the systems as in modern practice, and I can see no reason for not using modern barring in an edition of music of this period. Nevertheless, this is a minor criticism, and I can only applaud Jonathan Wainwright for producing these excellent editions; more power to his elbow!

Zadok the Priest

string parts reconstructed
by Peter Holman

Henry Lawes

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Soprano

Alto

Tenor

Bass

Bass / Continuo



4



7



10

Za - - dok the priest and Na - than the

Za - - dok the priest and Na - than the

Za - - dok the priest and Na - than the

Za - - dok the priest and Na - than the

12

pro - phet a - noint - ed So - lo - mon king,

pro - phet a - noint - ed So - lo - mon king,

pro - phet a - noint - ed So - lo - mon king,

pro - phet a - noint - ed So - lo - mon king,

14

and joy - ful - ly ap - proach - ing they cried, they cried 'God save the King, for

and joy - ful - ly ap - proach - ing they cried, they cried 'God save the King, for

and joy - ful - ly ap - proach - ing they cried, they cried 'God save the King, for

and joy - ful - ly ap - proach - ing they cried, they cried 'God save the King, for

18

ev - er and ev - er and ev - er, 'God save the King'. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le -

ev - er and ev - er and ev - er, 'God save the King'. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le -

ev - er and ev - er and ev - er, 'God save the King'. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le -

ev - er and ev - er and ev - er, 'God save the King'. Al - le - lu - ia, al - le -

23

lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu -

27

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

8 ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

ia, al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

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